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The Winthrop Family in America

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Adam Winthrop
of Groton Manor

The Winthrop Family in America

By

LAWRENCE SHAW MAYO

BOSTON

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To

All future Winthrops

WITH THE HOPE THAT THEY, BY THEIR DEEDS,
MAY CONTRIBUTE TO THE GREATNESS OF THE UNITED STATES,
AS DID MANY OF THOSE OF PAST YEARS
WHOSE PORTRAITS ARE SKETCHED IN THIS VOLUME

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Prelude

Let us now praise famous men, and our fathers that begat us.

2 The Lord hath wrought great glory by them through his great power from the beginning.

3 Such as did bear rule in their kingdoms, men renowned for their power, giving counsel by their understanding, and declaring prophecies:

4 Leaders of the people by their counsels, and by their knowledge of learning meet for the people, wise and eloquent in their instructions;

5 Such as found out musical tunes, and recited verses in writing:

6 Rich men furnished with ability, living peaceably in their habitations:

7 All these were honoured in their generations, and were the glory of their times.

Ecclesiasticus, CHAPTER XLIV

LAWRENCE SHAW MAYO

June 26, 1888–July 23, 1947

LAWRENCE SHAW MAYO, son of Lawrence Mayo and Helen Isadore Merrill, was born in Newton, Massachusetts. He liked to recall that he had been christened by Edward Everett Hale, for New England was in his blood. In spite of travels far and wide through the United States and Europe he was always happy to return to the land which had the first place in his heart.

He was graduated from Harvard with the Class of 1910, and took his Master's Degree the following year. Shortly thereafter, he became an assistant to Edward Channing, who taught American History at Harvard for almost fifty years. Professor Channing thought so highly of his help in History 10 that, as soon as he was entitled to his sabbatical year, he offered Mr. Mayo his own lecture-notes and asked him to give the course in his place. That the offer was refused was completely in character, and so the chance of a lifetime passed to another. Mr. Mayo's sense of duty was often excessive and made him diffident.

Not long after his graduation, Mr. Mayo became an Assistant Dean (1916–1919) of Harvard College, an office in which he was eminently successful. His influence on the students who were so fortunate as to be put in his charge was both laudable and lasting. His conscience made him invaluable to the administration of President Lowell, who learned to respect his judgement and even asked his advice. Five years after he resigned in 1919, he was called back for a second term of service (1924–1927).

In 1927 Professor George Henry Chase asked Mr. Mayo to become the Assistant Dean of the Graduate School of Arts and Sciences. The same year, he took office as the first Managing Editor of the *New England Quarterly*, a post he felt obliged to give up in 1928. For many years thereafter, Mr. Mayo was the moving, if not the dominant, spirit in University 24. Meanwhile, dividing his time between Massachusetts and New Hampshire, he carried on his own work quietly. His biography, *Jeffery Amherst* (1916), gained him election to the Massachusetts Historical Society in 1919. *John Wentworth* followed in 1921. In 1923 he brought out his edition of the *Journal of John D. Long* (1838–1915), Governor of Massachusetts from 1880 to 1882. Later on, he prepared an edition of Thomas Hutchinson's *History of Massachusetts-Bay*, which appeared in 1936, together with a third biography, *John Endecott*. Now and again he prepared memoirs for the *Proceedings* of the Society, and contributed eighteen sketches to the *Dictionary of American Biography*.

After his retirement from the office of Associate Dean of the Graduate School, he devoted most of his time to the preparation of this volume in spite of severe and prolonged illnesses. On June 11, 1947, he married his old friend, Catherine Barton, and the chosen few who knew him well hoped that long life and happiness lay before him. Unfortunately, however, he died suddenly at his camp on Lake Wentworth, in Wolfeboro, New Hampshire, the home where he was always glad to be, and where he had planned to pass his remaining years.

STEWART MITCHELL

Boston, Massachusetts
July 23, 1948

The Winthrop Family

INTRODUCTION

The Winthrop Family in England

THE name WINTHROP, in one of its earlier forms, existed in Nottinghamshire, England, as long ago as the year 1086. At that time a survey of the county was made at the behest of William the Conqueror, and the consequent tabulation mentions a place called Wimuntorp.[1] It belonged to the manor of the Bishop of Lincoln, and in the course of time became the present parish of Winthorpe. Those who have studied the subject tell us that the place-name Winthorpe, in Nottinghamshire, derives from the Old English personal name *Wigmund*, or its Scandinavian equivalent *Vigmundr*, plus *thorp*, and so means "Wigmund's village" or "Vigmund's village."[2] For centuries there has also been a village called Winthorpe on the coast of Lincolnshire, about twenty miles northeast of Boston. In the twelfth century its name appears as Winetorp, which is said to mean Wina's or Vini's thorp,—Vini being an Old Danish personal name.[3]

Towards the end of the thirteenth century men bearing the name of Winthrop or its equivalent are mentioned in the records of Yorkshire. Presumably they or their ancestors came from one of the villages of Winthrop mentioned above. There was, for instance, a Richard de Wymthorpe, who served on a board of inquiry (inquisition) at Pokelington in 1279; and there was a Thomas de Wimpthorpe, of Baynton, who performed a similar governmental duty "at the Cross near Beverle," in the spring of 1296. In other entries Thomas's name is spelled Wymerthorpe, Wymundthorpe, and, in 1301, Wynthorpe.[4] More or less contemporary with them and likewise living in Yorkshire were an Adam de Wyrunthorpe and a Robert de Wyrinthorp.[5]

But the first Winthrop of real interest to us was born in the county of Suffolk, at Lavenham (pronounced Lannam), which is about fifty-five miles northeast of London. This was Adam Winthrop, who was destined to become the grandfather of Governor Winthrop of Massachusetts-Bay. According to a Latin pedigree of the family, he was born on October 9, 1498.[6] He was the eldest son of Adam Winthrop and his wife Joane Burton, and he developed into an ambitious lad. At seventeen he left home and went up to London where he bound himself to Edward Altham as an apprentice for ten years. Altham was a clothier or clothworker who, a few years later, was

elected to the important office of Sheriff of London. Adam Winthrop fulfilled his long contract, became a citizen of London in 1526, and in the following year married Alice Henny. She bore him five children, about a year apart, and then died.[7]

In 1534 Adam married again; this time his bride was Agnes Sharpe, daughter of Robert Sharpe of Islington. She was eighteen years old; he was thirty-six,—and a widower with three children at that. But anyone could see that he was headed for success and prosperity. His steady advancement in the Clothworkers' Company of London indicates the regard in which he was held by his fellow merchants: in 1537, he was chosen one of the stewards; in 1544, a quarter-warden; in 1545, an upper-warden; and in 1551, a master of the Company. On the other hand he must have been a somewhat stormy member, for in May, 1538, the Masters summoned him before them and fined him "for disobeying the wardens in the search because that he would not suffer them to carry the cloth out of his house."[8] Adam Winthrop was a smart man; but on at least one occasion he may have been a little too enterprising for his own immediate good, for in 1543 he spent some time in the Fleet Prison and could not get out until he had paid £600 into the royal coffers.[9] His offense was negotiating with foreigners contrary to an edict of the King of England, but we do not know the nature of the negotiations which proved to be so expensive. The chances are that he was buying or selling cloth without sufficient regard for England's protection of her wool trade. However that may have been, his rise in the world does not seem to have been seriously checked by this mysterious occurrence, for in the very next year he bought the manor of Groton, in the county of Suffolk. This manor, belonging to the Abbey of Bury St. Edmund's, had been appropriated by Henry VIII when he dissolved the monasteries after his break with Rome. It was a lovely estate; and as it was only a few miles south of his old home at Lavenham, it was in country Winthrop knew well. He bought it of the King for £408 18*s.* 3*d.*, and thereby became "Lord of the Manor, and Patron of the Church,"—for the property carried with it the right to name the local rector. Four years later Edward VI granted him arms and the rank of Gentleman.[10]

The arms granted to Adam Winthrop at this time were confirmed to his son John Winthrop, uncle of the future governor of Massachusetts-Bay, in 1592 by the principal king-of-arms. In the confirmation they are described

To all and singuler Nobles and Gentlemen of what estate dignity, or degree bearing Armes
To whome theis pnt shall come Willm Detheck, als Garter principall kinge of Arms sendeth dew comendacions & greetings. Knowe
ye that whereas by vertue & ye ancient authority of my Office from the Queenes most exc. Mate I am to take genall notice & to make publique
declaracon record & testimony for all matters & causes of Armes Piedegrees & discents of all Noblemen & gent. throughe all her Mates kingdomes
dominions, principalities Isles & pryvinces To thend that like as some by their ancient armes parentages kindreds & discents are genally known
& anciently regestred in the records of my office So others for theyre vertues valiantnes dignities & deserts may be worthely approved and bette
discerned by theise laudable ensignes & tokens of honor & worshippe most necessary to be had & used in all ye commendable acts of gentility Wherfore having proofe of
this Shield & Cote of Armes apperteynyng to ye name and Ancestors of John Wynthrop Esquire Sonne of Adam Wynthrop of Groton in the County of
Suffk gent. I the said Garter principall king of Arms, according to ye authority & custome of my office have thought good to declare blaze & exemplify the same Shield
or Cote of Armes together wth a Creast or Cognizaunce appropriate for atchievemt to ye same wig vizn. Sargent, three Chevrons Gules, Grenelle, over all a Lion rampant Sables ar
med & langued Azure And for his Creast or Cognizance a Hare pper running on a mount vert sett upon a helmet in a wreathe of his coullors wth mantells & tassels
as appeareth in ye margent: To haue and to hold use and enioy the said Shield & cote of Armes wth ye said three Chevrons & ye Lion rampant together wth ye Creast
& Cognizance of a hare pper running upon a greene hyll & euy pt & pcell thereof unto ye wth in named John Wynthrop gent & others ye children yssue and posterity of ye said
Adam Wynthrop of Groton of the said County of Suffk Esquire lawfully begotten (observing yeir due differences) for ever And yt ye may haue use & beare ye same armes & creste
upon their Shields Targetts Swords or ensignes for warre or in yeir rings signetts & scales for lres & evidences or in & upon yeir howses buildings edifices xtensiles and
liveries or otherwise eyther paynted carved or figured upon Tymber marble glasse mettall stones tombes or monuments: and finally for any other lawfull warlike or ver
tuous & civile use & exercises such as by the lawes of Armes & custome for gent. apperteyneth. And this wthout any lawfull impedimt or contradiction of any pson or psons.
In witnes & ppetuall remembrance & testemony hereof I ye said Garter principall kinge of Armes have to yeir lres patents subscribed my name & fastened the
scale of my office endorsed wth ye signet of my Armes. Yeouen at ye office of Armes London The 24 day of June in ye xxxiiij yeare of ye reigne of our Soue
reigne Lady Elizabeth by ye grace of God Queene of England France & Ireland defender of ye faith &c. 1592.

Willm Detheck Garter
principall kinge of Arms

CONFIRMATION OF THE WINTHROP GRANT OF ARMS, 1592

as follows: "*d'argent* three Chevrons *Gules*, *Crenel* or, over all a Lion rampant *Sables* armed & langued *Azure* And for his Creast or Cognizance a Hare ꝑper running on a mount *vert* sett upon a helmet in a wreathe of his coullors with mantells & tassels as appeareth in this margent." Farther on in the document the "mount *vert*" is termed "a greene hyll." The confirmation, including a sketch of the arms and crest, is reproduced here.

Thus the boy from Lavenham, who had been markedly successful as a merchant in the metropolis, made himself a member of the Suffolk gentry before he was fifty; he also had a house in town, in the parish of St. Peter's upon Cornhill, and presumably he oscillated between the two according to season for the remainder of his life. He died at Groton in 1562 and was buried in the chancel of the church there.[11]

A portrait of this Adam Winthrop is in the possession of Robert Winthrop, of New York; and whether it was done by Holbein or by a less renowned artist, it is an admirable piece of work. The face is that of a fearless man of affairs; he is used to meeting problems and to solving them successfully; he has plenty of determination, but he is friendly and likable; he has so much native ability that most things have come easily to him; there has been plenty of work but no great strain behind his success in life; industry, shrewdness, and a disarming manner have made him what he is, and he has found the world a very agreeable place. If one blocks out the sixteenth-century costume, including the cap and earrings, one will find a face that might well belong to a type of New Englander that was familiar to many of us in the second half of the nineteenth century and the early years of the twentieth: the successful industrialist of Boston, or even New York, who began life as a boy on a farm in northern New England. In all probability that is just the kind of person the founder of the Winthrop family was.

By his second wife Adam had eight children, but only two boys survived infancy. These were John, who was born in 1546, and Adam, Jr., in 1548. John migrated to Ireland, but the branch of the family established there seems to have sprung not from him but from his father's first set of children; occasionally he revisited England and is known to have "kept a court at Groton Hall" as late as October, 1601.

Adam, Jr., the father of the founder of Massachusetts, was born in London in the parish of St. Peter's, and "in the street which is called Gracious" (Gracechurch) on August 10, 1548. He grew up in Groton and London

and became a lawyer. His father died when he was fourteen and Groton Manor descended to his older brother John; however, when John moved to Ireland in 1594, Adam renounced city life and established himself at Groton, where in the course of time he became lord of the manor. He was an interesting man whose tastes enabled him to enjoy many things besides his fields and woods and the management of his estate. He had a library; and being more methodical than most of us are, he made a record of the books he lent to relatives and friends.[12] Among these were *A Perambulation of Kent* by William Lambarde (now in the library of the Massachusetts Historical Society), John Rastell's *The Exposicions of the Termes of the Lawes of England*, Timothy Bright's *Hygieina, id est De Sanitate tuenda*, Petrarch's *Works* (in Latin), *The Rheims Testament*, John Jewel's *The Defence of the Apologie*, *The Auncient Ecclesiasticall Histories of the first six hundred years after Christ, wrytten in the Greek tongue by . . . Eusebius, Socrates, and Evagrius* (in English), three volumes of the biblical commentaries of Nicolaus de Lyra, and Barnabe Googe's *Foure Bookes of Husbandry*. He was well grounded in Latin, and he frequently ended an entry in his diary or almanac with a phrase in that language. Now and then he even ventured to compose a Latin ode, but more often his attempts at versification were in English. Sometimes the latter were not entirely unsuccessful, though the verses he dedicated to his neighbor, Lady Mildmay, on the birth of her son Henry make the reader wonder whether Adam Winthrop might not have spent his time more profitably in some other way. The opening lines are

> *I sing not like the swan, that ready is to die;*
> *But with the Phoenix I rejoice, when she in fire doth fry.*

Nevertheless, one of his contemporaries thought sufficiently well of them to include them in a manuscript anthology which is preserved in the British Museum (Harleian Manuscripts, No. 1598).[13]

For the most part this Adam Winthrop liked to stay at home; but once a year, usually about the first of December, he rode to Cambridge to audit the accounts of one college or another. This business usually required a week or more and it gave him both a pleasant change of scene and a congenial occupation. As early as 1593 he recorded the receipt of an honorarium of £8 6*s*. 8*d*. from Trinity College; he continued to serve as its Auditor until January, 1610, and during at least part of this period he was Auditor of St. John's as well.

The more information one gleans about Adam Winthrop's library the more one wonders what he thought of the books he read. One item, now in the library of the Massachusetts Historical Society, indicates clearly that he was a painstaking reader; it is a tract by George Wilson, printed at London in 1607 and entitled *The Commendation of Cockes, and Cock-fighting. Wherein is shewed, that Cocke-fighting was before the coming of Christ.* On the margins of its pages are many notes in Winthrop's hand; some are in Latin, some in English, some in prose, and some in verse. As good Puritans frowned on cock-fighting and similar unedifying diversions, we may have in these notes an indication of the extent to which Squire Winthrop shared their attitude of mind. Curiously enough, neither the cruelty to the birds nor the demoralizing effect on the spectators evoked any marginal comments from Adam Winthrop. What interested him were the references to roosters and hens made by ancient writers and the somewhat doubtful information about their habits. To these data he added some facts and fancies he had acquired from other reading,—and let it go at that. It is safe to say that if he had been a Puritan of any hue he could not have perused the little book with anything like such complete objectivity.

Adam Winthrop married twice. His first wife was Alice Still, daughter of William Still of Grantham in Lincolnshire; her brother, Dr. John Still, was the Master of Trinity College, Cambridge, a fact which may have some connection with Winthrop's appointment as Auditor of Trinity and St. John's. Adam and Alice were married in December, 1574; three years later she and her first-born child were buried at Hadleigh, which is not far from Groton. Although she left no descendants, it is possible that she and the cordial relations between the two families were remembered almost seventy years afterward when one of Adam's great-grandsons was named Wait Still Winthrop.

For his second wife Adam Winthrop chose Anne Browne, the daughter of Henry Browne, clothier, of Edwardston, in the county of Suffolk. Mr. Browne appears to have been a reader, for there is a letter from him in which he asks Adam Winthrop to please return his copy of Fox's *Book of Martyrs*; furthermore, he seems to have had strong leanings toward Puritanism as evidenced by the following pronouncement in his handwriting: "Christ took not our nature upon him to be a patron to the carver or painter: he denied that he came to break the law and the prophets: the law and prophets

forbid images." His grandson, Governor Winthrop of Massachusetts-Bay, might not have wholly agreed with him in regard to the undesirability of the fine arts as a field for human endeavor, yet from this and from other straws in the wind one cannot help surmising that the grandson's intense Puritanism came to him from the Browne side rather than from the Winthrops. Anne was well educated and wrote charming, affectionate letters to her husband when he was away from home. There is a touch of piety in them and the suggestion that she was a thrifty housewife. That she knew French and occasionally enjoyed expressing herself in that language is apparent from a postscript to one of her early letters: "Je vous rende grace de la bien souvenance que vous avez de moy bible françois, Je vous prie de l'envoyer en bréf par le Rouiller." Many years later, almost at the end of her life, she wrote from the bottom of her heart the following letter to her grown-up son John, who was then in London recovering from a severe illness. It tells better than anything else could the kind of mother Anne Winthrop was.

My dear and only Son, my most loving Son,—

I AM very sorry for thy sickness and pray to God night and day for thy good recovery which I desire with the most entire affection of my heart, and wish myself present with thee. I have no balm to send thee, but I will offer up to [the] Lord the prayers of a true mournful mother's heart till I see thy face with comfort, which God in his rich mercy grant me, poor soul. I pray, Son, remember me to your brother and sister.

Your mournful mother,
A. W.

Among the memorabilia of Adam Winthrop is an earthenware can or tankard with a silver lid and trimmings, which was given him by his sister Alice, Lady Mildmay, in 1607. For more than a century it has been one of the treasures of the American Antiquarian Society. Its height is 5¾ inches; the color of the earthenware is mottled brown, and the mountings are silver gilt. The cover depicts the Fall of Adam with a frankness that leaves little to the imagination,—both Adam and Eve appearing in an absolute minimum of apparel.* One wonders whether Adam Winthrop's father-in-law, Henry Browne, may not have had this *objet-d'art* in mind when he wrote so disapprovingly of sculptors and painters; certainly the representation on the lid of the tankard would divert even a Puritan's thoughts from spiritual things. This heirloom remained in the family, usually in the possession of an Adam

* There is a sketch of it in Justin Winsor's *Memorial History of Boston*, 1. 491.

Winthrop, for over two hundred years, and was bequeathed to the American Antiquarian Society by William Winthrop, son of Professor John Winthrop.[14]

Another interesting relic is Adam Winthrop's Bible, a quarto copy of the King James version, which is bound up with the Book of Common Prayer; it went out of the family for a few years, but came back, and is now in the library of the Massachusetts Historical Society. The Harvard College Library owns a black-letter volume entitled *A Hundred Sermons upon the Apocalips of Iesu Christe* . . . by Henry Bullinger. It is of unusual interest because it contains two entries in the distinguished handwriting of Adam Winthrop: one consists of four stanzas of verse with Winthrop's signature attached thereto; the other is a biographical sketch of the translator, John Daus (or Dawes).[15]

Adam Winthrop died at Groton Manor on March 28, 1623, and was buried in the family tomb in the Groton churchyard. His wife died six years later and was buried in the same tomb.

Children:

Anne, born January 5, 1581, died January 20, 1581.

Anne, born January 16, 1586, married Thomas Fones, February 25, 1605, and had issue.

John, born in Edwardston, January 12, 1588, became the Governor of Massachusetts-Bay and died March 26, 1649. See p. 11.

Jane, born June 14, 1592, married Thomas Gostlin, a clothier of Suffolk County, January 15, 1613, and had issue.

Lucy, born January 9, 1601, married Emanuel Downing, April 10, 1622, and had issue.

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3. Eilert Ekwall, *The Concise Oxford Dictionary of English Place-Names*, 501.

4. Yorkshire Archaeological and Topographical Association, *Record Series*, XII. 194. Yorkshire Archaeological Society, *Record Series*, XXIII. 86, 134, 171; XXI. 35, 165.

5. Yorkshire Archaeological Society, *Record Series*, XXIX. 213, 194.

6. *Winthrop Papers*, I. 2.

7. *Ibid.*, I. 2–3.

8. Winthrop Manuscripts (Massachusetts Historical Society), 1B. 79.
9. *Winthrop Papers*, I. 3. Cf. *Acts of the Privy Council*, edited by John Roche Dasent, I. 92, 102.
10. *Winthrop Papers*, I. 4.
11. *Register of Saint Peter's, Cornhill*, 3, 5; Winthrop Manuscripts (Massachusetts Historical Society), 88. 14. There is a plan of Groton Manor House in the Winthrop Manuscripts, 88. 16.
12. *Winthrop Papers*, I. 71–72.
13. Robert C. Winthrop, *Life and Letters of John Winthrop*, I. 29.
14. American Antiquarian Society *Proceedings*, New Series, XV (1902–03), 173.
15. Colonial Society of Massachusetts *Publications*, XXVII. 187.

CHAPTER I

The First Generation

JOHN[1] WINTHROP was born at Edwardston, a little village adjoining Groton, in the county of Suffolk, England, on January 12, 1588,[1] the year of the defeat of the Spanish Armada. He was the only son of Adam and Anne (Browne) Winthrop, and his father carefully recorded that John was born "on Thursday about 5 of the clocke in the morninge." His mother's family lived at Edwardston and presumably she was visiting them; the time had not yet come when Adam Winthrop was to succeed to Groton Manor, the estate which his able and enterprising father had acquired in 1544.

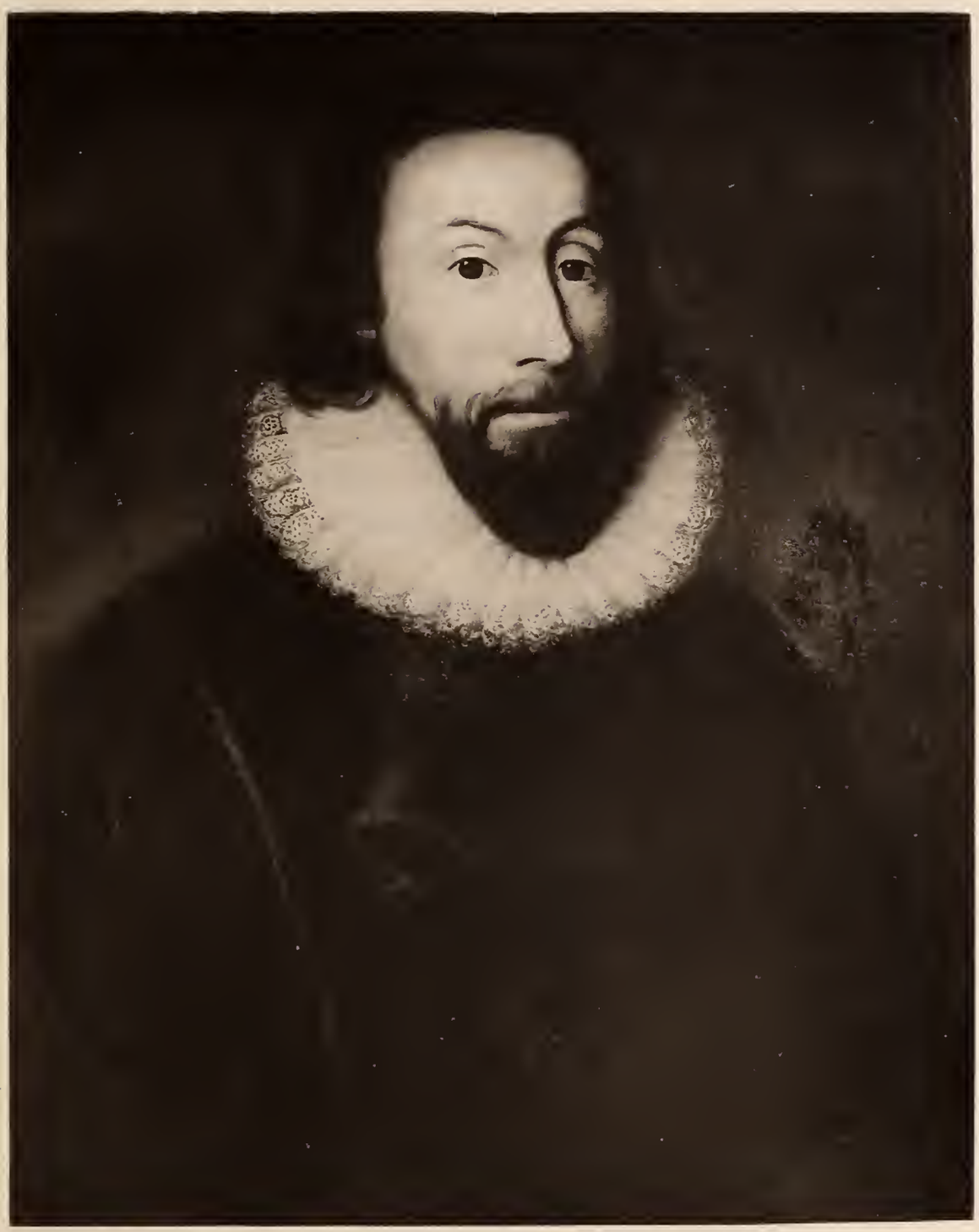
Though Adam Winthrop wrote down many occurrences in his diary and in his almanacs, we know little about John's childhood except that most of it was passed at Groton Manor. At fourteen he entered Trinity College, Cambridge, and remained there less than two years. Few sons of the country gentry went through to a degree, unless they were aiming at the ministry; and the dissolute behavior of many of the undergraduates must have been sickening to John, who was a deeply religious boy ever conscious of the immediacy of God and ever striving to live up to the dictates of his conscience. This last was not an easy matter, for John had both a tremendous conscience and a young, healthy, vigorous body. His Bible taught him that the spirit is willing, but the flesh is weak; but he knew that the real trouble was that the flesh is strong. Throughout adolescence and early manhood the conflict went on, an almost continuous battle with temptation. At least, so it seemed to John; yet no one else appears to have considered him "very wild and dissolute," which suggests that though his temptations and his wrestling with them were real, his lapses were rare and relatively harmless. His own writings make it fairly clear that worldly thoughts rather than actual misdeeds constituted his "wickedness," and that it troubled him sorely that he could not always conquer them by praying, or singing psalms, or trying to concentrate his mind on spiritual matters.

As a child he felt nearest to God when afraid or ill, or both, and one's heart goes out to him on the following occasion: "About fourteen years of age, being in Cambridge, I fell into a lingering fever, which took away the comfort of my life. For being there neglected and despised, I went up and

down mourning with myself; and being deprived of my youthful joys, I betook myself to God, whom I did believe to be very good and merciful and would welcome any that would come to him, especially such a young soul, and so well qualified as I took myself to be; so as I took pleasure in drawing near to him." That faith in God and that consciousness of His nearness never forsook John Winthrop. He was ever on the watch for divine interposition in favor of himself or others, and whenever he saw an instance of it he recorded it as a religious "experience."[2]

In April, 1605, John Winthrop was married at Great Stambridge, in Essex, to Mary Forth, the daughter and sole heir of John Forth, Esq. Young Winthrop had just turned seventeen, and his bride was twenty-one. From her home they went to London, and about three weeks later were welcomed at Groton Manor. It was a fine match from almost every point of view. The Forths were a Suffolk family well known to the Winthrops and well connected socially. The branch to which Mary belonged was wealthy and she brought to her serious boy husband "a large portion of outward estate." John and Mary seem to have made their home at Groton until the autumn of 1608; then they went to Great Stambridge and made that their principal place of residence for a few years. There John rejoiced in the local minister, Mr. Ezekiel Culverwell, who was exactly the kind of person he needed at that point in his spiritual development. Years later he wrote of his influence, "I first found the ministry of the word to come home to my heart with power (for in all before I found only light), and after that I found the like in the ministry of many others; so as there began to be some change which I perceived in myself, and others took notice of." Temptations still tormented him at times, but there came a day when he surrendered himself completely to God and found peace and comfort in carrying out his will. What a serious young husband and father he must have been! "I had an unsatiable thirst after the word of God," he recorded, "and could not miss a good sermon, though many miles off, especially of such as did search deep into the conscience."

But this does not mean that he spent all his time and energy in introspection and in communing with his God. He read law, became a justice of the peace, and at twenty-one "kept his first court at Groton Hall." He became the father of six children, three boys and three girls; two of the girls died in infancy, and in 1615 his wife Mary followed them and was buried in the



John Winthrop
Governor of Massachusetts-Bay

family tomb at Groton. By this time he seems to have returned to Groton, where he assisted his father more and more in the administration of the manor.

Mary Winthrop never really understood her husband's religious preoccupation and intensity, and she was too honest to pretend that she did. Like most of us she was reticent about her inner life and endeavored to change the subject when John inquired about the state of her soul or tried to get her to talk about righteousness. This troubled John, of course, and he frequently made it a matter of prayer. Finally, on one memorable occasion she did "lay open her heart" to him, much to his satisfaction and joy, "and she proved after a right godly woman." Nevertheless, one comes away with the feeling that Mary was more patient than religious, and that from our point of view she was the more normal human being of the two. Whatever John Winthrop may have thought of her, she gave him in John, Jr., as fine a son as any man ever had.

Less than six months after Mary's death, John married Thomasine Clopton, daughter of William Clopton, Esq., of Castlins Manor, a seat in Groton. She was four years older than he, came of a fine family, and proved herself a thoroughbred. When they had been married about a year she gave birth to a daughter, who lived only a day or two. Thomasine bore this loss with great patience and fortitude, but that and all she had been through were too much for her. Two days later John became alarmed about her and, fearing the worst, burst into tears. She was wonderful. Mortally ill though she was, she devoted what little strength she could muster to quieting him, saying that he was breaking her heart with his grief. And when he protested that he could not bear the thought of losing her, she assured him that whatever might happen God would sustain him and provide for him. With such complete serenity did she face death that she seemed almost to welcome it, and her thoughts were always for others rather than for herself. She lingered a few days and then died on December 8, 1616. John had lost

A perfect woman, nobly planned,
To warn, to comfort, and command,

and he knew it. After recounting her many virtues, which included loving and tender care of his children, he added, "For her carriage towards myself, it was so amiable and observant as I am not able to express; it had this only inconvenience, that it made me delight too much in her to enjoy her

long."[3] This, no doubt, was his Puritan explanation for her being taken away.

So great a bereavement might well have shaken a man's faith in God, but in John Winthrop's case it had the opposite effect. Now he turned to God "unweariably," not so much for comfort as for correction and guidance. This brought about an intimacy that sometimes filled him with such elation that he was able to "say with the prophet, 'O Lord thou hast caused my joy to surmount my grief an hundred fold.'" On other occasions it made him search his conscience for misdemeanors; he remembered, for instance, that when he was a boy he had stolen two small books that lay "cast aside" in a certain house. He had thought of it off and on ever since, but shame had always prevented him from confessing and making restitution. Now the memory of it met him at every turn and he could not be rid of it until (through God's direction) he found "a means to make satisfaction." Just how this was accomplished we do not know, but he tells us that when it was done he "had peace, and was in much better liberty of heart than before, God's holy name be praised." Evidently the New England conscience antedates New England. Fortunately for John, part of his time was occupied with attending sessions of the courts where he acted either as attorney or as magistrate, and with journeys to and from London. But the Lord was with him wherever he went and whatever he did.

In April, 1618, he married Margaret Tyndal, daughter of Sir John Tyndal, of Great Maplestead, in the county of Essex. She was a truly religious young woman and also such a lovable one that her stepchildren soon came to regard her as if she were their own mother. In the course of time she added many more children to the Winthrop household. Her husband adored her and his letters to her glow with expressions of his affection. To us of today John Winthrop is more understandable, more human, more real in these letters to his wife than in any other writings of his that have been preserved. Here we have neither the grave, almost sad Winthrop of the portraits nor the introspective, conscience-tortured Puritan of his early journals, but a healthy, happy, young married man abounding in love and tenderness and blessed with an entirely congenial mate.

About the time of his marriage to Margaret Tyndal, John Winthrop became lord of the manor at Groton. His father was still living and active, but he seems to have been glad to turn over to his son the cares and responsibili-

ties of his ancestral estate. Thus at thirty the younger Winthrop found himself well established in every way: he had a remunerative profession in the law, a good income from his tenants, a fine wife, three sons, and a daughter; furthermore, the children were already provided for, for they had property coming to them under the will of their grandfather Forth when they should come of age.[4] From the worldly point of view there seems to have been no reason why he should not have congratulated himself upon his lot and have looked forward to leading the happy life of an English squire for the rest of his days. His domestic life, too, seems to have been all that a man could hope for. But John Winthrop's heart was troubled. The England he loved was changing into an England he could neither enjoy nor understand. The rich were getting richer and their manner of living was both extravagant and loose. In England in the 1620's as in America in the 1920's the emphasis was on money and having a good time; nothing else mattered, except to God-fearing men like himself. The King was at odds with Parliament and there was no telling how that quarrel would end. The Queen was a Roman Catholic, and Charles's foreign policy reflected that unfortunate fact. Within the realm, conformity to Bishop Laud's kind of Church of England was required; this meant no sermons and the silencing of independent preachers. How long would it be before the Bishop would stand between a man and his God and dictate his religious belief as well as the form of its outward expression? What then? All these things troubled Winthrop sorely, but to his constant question "Lord! what wilt thou have me to do?" he received no momentous answer until 1629. Then a way opened before him, which, once taken, changed not only the whole course of his own life but the lives of thousands of his fellow-countrymen.

In March, 1629, relations between Parliament and the King broke wide open, and the Puritan leaders were carried off to the Tower. Henceforth Charles would govern without Parliament. In June, Winthrop's commission as an attorney of the Court of Wards and Liveries in London was taken away from him. We do not know the reason for this deprivation, but assume that it was due to the fact that he was known to be a Puritan. One day towards the end of July, John Winthrop and his brother-in-law Emanuel Downing rode from Groton *via* Ely into Lincolnshire; their destination was Tattershall, the seat of the Earl of Lincoln, near Sempringham and not very far from Boston; their object was to talk with Isaac Johnson, a wealthy

young Puritan, and some of his friends about the Massachusetts Bay Company and its plans for the immediate future. On his return from this conference he was accompanied by Isaac Johnson, John Humfry, and Thomas Dudley, who were prominent members of the Bay Company. Winthrop was not a member of that organization, but these gentlemen, all of them good Puritans, had filled his mind with thoughts of New England and what might be achieved in that remote part of the world.

The Company of the Massachusetts Bay had been chartered in the preceding March to take over and give life to an earlier company that had established a small colony at Salem. The management of its predecessor had been good and it had a forceful man, Captain John Endecott, in charge of its New England plantation; it was a going concern, but it lacked capital and needed the backing of men of wealth and position who were well known in financial London. These were found in Matthew Cradock, Sir Richard Saltonstall, John Venn, Theophilus Eaton, and other prominent merchants; associated with them were a number of substantial Puritans residing in East Anglia. Among the latter were Isaac Johnson, William Pynchon, and Richard Bellingham. The ostensible purpose of the new company was colonization in New England and the conversion of the Indians there, but it is not unlikely that more than one of the grantees saw in the charter the possibility of founding a New World refuge for English Puritans who, like John Winthrop, viewed the future with grave concern. On that ground, if on no other, it must have interested Winthrop when Johnson and Humfry and Dudley talked with him at Tattershall in the summer of 1629. It interested him more when he learned that the Company might be governed by officers resident in the colony, and not by a board of directors in London. And when he was told that the success of the enterprise depended largely upon his willingness to go to New England, it became a matter of conscience with him and he was faced with the necessity of making a tremendous decision. Should he, at forty-one, change his whole way of living, sell Groton Manor, and undertake a hazardous enterprise in a wilderness three thousand miles away?

When he asked his son John for advice, John replied that "the whole disposition thereof is of the Lord"; but the rest of his letter made it clear that he favored the idea and that if his father decided to go to New England he would stand by him through thick and thin. John Winthrop, Senior, weighed the pros and cons with great care and deliberation, writing them down,

reading them over and over, and submitting them to those whose opinion he valued most.* Would he be deserting England at a time when England had most need of him and his talents? Ultimately it came down to the old, old question: "Lord! what wilt thou have me to do?" By the end of August he felt reasonably certain that he had received his answer. With Saltonstall and various others he signed an agreement "to embark for the said plantation by the first of March next" if the government thereof could be legally transferred to those who went to New England to "inhabit," and not left in the hands of a London directorate. In October the Company voted that this should be done, and at the same meeting John Winthrop, Sir Richard Saltonstall, Isaac Johnson, and John Humfry were nominated for the office of governor for the ensuing year. Somewhat to his consternation Winthrop was elected, and probably he never wrote with more sincerity than when he informed his wife of his election, and added, "The only thing I have comfort of in it is, that hereby I have assurance that my charge is of the Lord and that he hath called me to this work."[5]

The magnitude of the immediate task was indeed appalling. Ships must be engaged, supplies must be ordered,—not only enough for the voyage out but for weeks and perhaps months after arrival in New England,—colonists must be found and instructed how to proceed, and there were a thousand and one details to be thought of and looked after,—and all to be done under pressure of time. Much, if not all, of this kind of business was new and strange to John Winthrop, but he had able and energetic co-workers and the preparations went ahead so rapidly that the first ship sailed in February, 1630, and by June fourteen vessels had cleared for Massachusetts Bay. It was an extraordinary feat.

Besides directing the activities of the Company, Governor Winthrop had to wind up his own affairs as well as he could and be ready to sail, if possible, by the first day of March. Groton and the family there saw little of him in those busy weeks, but he planned things very well. As he could not hope to sell Groton Manor advantageously in so short a time, it was agreed that his eldest son, John, Jr., now a young man in his early twenties, would remain in England for a while before going to America. John was his right-hand

* Sir John Eliot, in the Tower of London, had a copy of Winthrop's reflections before him and made a transcript of it. John Hampden suggested that Eliot send him a copy, which he would transcribe and then return. *Winthrop Papers*, II. 145, *note*; Massachusetts Historical Society *Proceedings*, XII (1871–73), 236.

man and could be relied upon to do anything well, whether it was Company business or family affairs. Mrs. Winthrop and the younger group of children would come out with him later. This would give the Governor an opportunity to provide a suitable habitation for her in Massachusetts before her arrival in that unknown land; furthermore, she was expecting another baby. With him he would take his sons Henry,—a somewhat unsteady young man, who had recently returned from Barbados,—Stephen, and Adam; the latter were youngsters of about eleven and ten, respectively.

In the last week in February, Governor Winthrop said good-bye to Groton and journeyed up to London, going by the way of Great Maplestead, the home of his wife's family in Essex. From London he went to Southampton, and on March 22, 1630, he was aboard the *Arbella*, the flagship of the fleet that was about to sail for New England. There had been delays and there were still delays, but on April 8 the *Arbella* and three other ships got away from the Isle of Wight and were headed westward across the Atlantic; seven more vessels were to follow as soon as possible.

The voyage was rough, and at first there was a good deal of seasickness among the passengers. But there were spells of good weather, during which the younger people appear to have had a rather merry time. Usually the *Arbella* was within sight and hail of two of the other ships, and in calm weather boats were lowered and visits exchanged. Nevertheless, June 8 must have been a red-letter day, for it brought the welcome sight of the bold, exhilarating outline of Mount Desert Island and the sweet smell of the land. Four days later the *Arbella* found the mouth of Salem Harbor and, wafted by a light easterly breeze, crept up the ship channel to cast anchor in the New World. In the afternoon Governor Winthrop and other distinguished passengers were rowed ashore where they were entertained at supper by Captain Endecott, the local head of the already existing plantation. While the aristocracy were feasting on "a good venison pasty and good beer," the rest of the passengers were busily gathering wild strawberries on the Beverly shore which was conveniently near the ship. All must have agreed that in the month of June there were worse places than New England.[6]

If Winthrop expected to make Salem the center of his Massachusetts Bay colony, he soon changed his mind. The settlers already there had had a hard winter and the atmosphere was distinctly depressing. It would be better to have his own six or seven hundred emigrants—which became a thousand

before the summer was over—start from scratch somewhere else in the Company's domain, which extended from three miles south of the Charles to three miles north of the Merrimac. A bit of exploring along the coast convinced him that a hilly peninsula just north of the mouth of the Charles was a favorable place. Endecott had laid out a town there in the preceding year and had named it Charlestown. He would establish his headquarters there. By this time other ships had reached Salem, whence they all now moved on to Boston Harbor and gradually unloaded their passengers at Charlestown. In the midst of all this commotion the Governor's son Henry was drowned while trying to swim across a tidal river near Salem. Winthrop took this blow as he took every other misfortune, with fortitude and uncomplaining resignation. Probably it was fortunate for him that from morning until night his mind had to be occupied with the many unexpected problems connected with the welfare of his colony.

The chief problem was health. Sickness broke out at Charlestown; many died, among them Isaac Johnson, and many others became discontented or alarmed. One of their grievances was that there was only one bubbling spring on the peninsula, "and that not to be come at but when the tide was down." By great good luck Winthrop learned of a more convenient spring on a neighboring peninsula across the Charles. Why not move over there? Accordingly the greater part of the colonists, including the Governor and their minister, Mr. Wilson, packed up their belongings, ferried them across the wide mouth of the river, and started a new settlement which they named Boston. This must have been tedious, to say the least; but nothing daunted John Winthrop or even diminished his enthusiasm. Early in September he assured his wife, "I thank God I like so well to be here as I do not repent my coming: and if I were to come again, I would not have altered my course, though I had foreseen all these afflictions. I never fared better in my life, never slept better, never had more content of mind." And writing from "Boston in Mattachusetts" towards the end of November, he insisted, "My dear wife, we are here in a paradise, though we have not beef and mutton etc.: yet (God be praised) we want them not; our Indian corn answers for all, yet here is fowl and fish in great plenty." To a certain extent this exuberance may have been intended to counteract the dismal reports of Mrs. Winthrop's brother, Arthur Tyndal, who had returned to England on the first available ship. One look at New England had sufficed for him. Yet

Winthrop's words sound spontaneous, almost boyish, in their enthusiasm, and one cannot help feeling that in spite of all the hardships and disappointments that had attended the enterprise he was genuinely carried away by his new environment.

Either the Company had miscalculated the amount of food that would be found at Salem or it had not expected that so much sent over with the Winthrop fleet would be spoiled on the way. At any rate, soon after his arrival Winthrop foresaw a shortage and despatched the *Lion* to England with orders to bring out provisions as soon as possible. As is often the case, the New England winter held off until after Christmas; but when it struck, it struck hard. By February the colony was facing starvation and, according to Cotton Mather, even the Governor had got down to his last handful of meal. Would the *Lion* never arrive? On the fifth of February the more than welcome sails of a ship appeared down the harbor. It was the *Lion*, well laden with provisions. Quite properly the Governor and Assistants declared a day of Thanksgiving which was held on the twenty-second. Winthrop was still an ardent New Englander and he wrote his wife, "I praise God, I want nothing but thee and the rest of my family." But a number of his associates were glad to be able to return to England when the *Lion* sailed early in the spring. Among them was Sir Richard Saltonstall, who may have intended to come back to Massachusetts later. His two elder sons remained in the colony.[7]

Winthrop had expected that his family would be reunited in the spring or early summer of 1631; but it was some time before the sale of Groton Manor could be put through, and John, Jr., who was to shepherd the flock, could not leave England until that important transaction had taken place. For several months no one would offer more than £4000 for the property; and as the Governor valued it at £5760, his son held on to it as long as he dared. But in April, 1631, "one Mr. Warren, a grocer" of London, agreed to pay £4200 and the bargain was made. After this the way to New England was comparatively unobstructed. Towards the end of August, Mrs. Winthrop, John, Jr., and all the other children (except Deane) were aboard the old reliable *Lion*, outward-bound for Massachusetts Bay. On November 2 the ship reached the entrance to Boston Harbor, where she had to wait two days for a favorable wind to bring her up. There were about sixty passengers on board; and although they had been at sea for ten weeks, all were

in good health. Two children had died on the way over. One of them was Anne Winthrop, a daughter whom the Governor had never seen. She was born after he left England. Nevertheless, this landing of the Winthrops was a jubilant occasion. When they put off from the *Lion*, the ship fired a salute of six or seven guns; and when they got on land, they were greeted with "divers volleys of shot" and three drakes (small cannon), and were escorted to their new home by a military bodyguard. Friends and acquaintances flocked in from every direction, and for several days they brought or sent "great store of provisions, as fat hogs, kids, venison, poultry, geese, partridges, etc., so as the like joy and manifestation of love had never been seen in New England." It is more than likely that November 4, 1631, was the happiest day in the life of John Winthrop.

While waiting for the family to cross the ocean, Governor Winthrop had chosen the site of a farm for himself and had begun to put up some buildings on it. This was in addition to his "great house" in Boston, which was on the site of the present Exchange Building—a few doors down State Street from the Old State House.* For his plantation he picked out a tract of six hundred acres on the south bank of the Mystic River, midway between Charlestown Neck and Medford, which was granted him by the Court of Assistants in September, 1631. This became "Tenhills Farm," so called either because ten hills could be seen from it or because ten small elevations dotted its uneven surface;[8] much of it remained in the Winthrop family until 1677. But even before this grant was made, he had begun operations there and had built and launched a bark which he named the *Blessing of the Bay*. He had brought out from England a number of servants, and these were kept busy clearing the land, building a farmhouse, and tending the livestock. Winthrop liked to go out there from time to time, and in October, 1631, it was the scene of one of the few amusing incidents of which he left a record.

Strolling in the woods one evening after supper, he was overtaken by the sudden darkness of that season of the year, lost his way, and before long found himself at the door of a little house belonging to Sagamore John, an Indian, instead of at his own farmhouse. The house was empty, but for one

* About 1640 Winthrop moved into a smaller house on a lot which included the site of the Old South Meeting-house. This later house stood until 1775, when, with many other old buildings, it was pulled down by the British troops and used for fuel. Earlier in the eighteenth century it was the home of Thomas Prince, who was for forty years the pastor of the Old South.

reason or another Winthrop preferred to sleep out. He built a fire in the open and found some old mats to lie on, but he could not get to sleep—presumably because he knew that there were wolves about. So he spent the night "sometimes walking by the fire, sometimes singing psalms, and sometimes getting wood." Fortunately the night was warm, but towards morning it began to rain. As the Governor had no cloak, his scruples about breaking and entering now gave way, and he very sensibly went inside; but his troubles were not yet over. After daybreak there came along an Indian squaw who looked at the house and then tried the door. Winthrop, who had got to his side of the door first, barred her out. She didn't like this very well and she "stayed there a great while essaying to get in." Finally she went away; then the Governor of the Bay Colony emerged from his sylvan citadel and "returned safe home, his servants having been much perplexed for him, and having walked about, and shot off pieces, and hallooed in the night, but he heard them not." Winthrop's sense of humor was never one of his strong points, but it seems as if even he must have seen the funny side of this episode.[9]

About this time Governor Winthrop rested his eye on a beautiful island about two miles down the harbor. It was called Conant's Island, probably because Roger Conant, an early settler, had taken a fancy to it when migrating from Plymouth to Salem a few years before; but it belonged to the Massachusetts Bay Company. Winthrop thought that it could be planted with young apple trees and grapevines and so become his orchard and vineyard. The General Court was not averse to granting it to him, but when it did so in the spring of 1632 it stipulated that a fifth of the produce each year should be turned over to the governor of the Colony.[10] Winthrop took the island on these terms, built a farmhouse on it, and found it a very pleasant summer resort for himself and his family. In the course of time he gave it to his son Adam; in the sketch of this Adam Winthrop in the present volume the history of the island is related in more detail. In John Winthrop's time the property was known as "the Governor's Garden" or simply "the Garden"; later on it became Governor's Island and has retained that name ever since. Another attractive spot was Pullen Point, the southeastern part of the present town of Winthrop; here, also, he acquired a substantial tract of land and erected some buildings on it. This farm he later transferred to his son Deane, whose house still stands. Besides all these Governor Winthrop owned

land at Concord, a farm of 1200 acres on the Concord River, half of "the Isle Prudence" in Narragansett Bay, and had a claim to thousands of acres of wild land in Massachusetts. But Tenhills, the Garden, and the farm at Pullen Point were nearest to Boston and nearest to his heart. He had an eye for natural beauty as well as for commercial value, and few will begrudge him the delight he took in possessing and developing these bits of his New England paradise.

As long as the survival of the Colony of Massachusetts Bay was uncertain, the people clung to John Winthrop and accepted more or less willingly his guidance in all matters. But when the hardest days were over, dissension began to appear. As early as 1632 Deputy-Governor Thomas Dudley, who was about twelve years older than Winthrop, walked out of a meeting of the Assistants and sent in his resignation. The Governor and the other Assistants declined to accept it and told him he must continue to serve. Dudley, who had been a soldier and had commanded a company under Henry of Navarre, was a very determined man and at times a very trying one. His reason for resigning was that there were matters that needed airing and he couldn't talk about them freely while he held office. Winthrop gave him about a month in which to cool off and then succeeded in persuading him to attend a meeting of the Assistants at the Governor's house. There things went from bad to worse, for someone brought up two other matters that got Dudley in a rage. One concerned his practice of selling seven bushels and a half of corn to be paid for by ten bushels after harvest; Winthrop said it was usury and unlawful, and Dudley said that any man of sense knew it was not. The other matter had to do with Dudley's house, about which Winthrop had spoken to him before; it was too elaborate to be seemly "in the beginning of a plantation" and a bad example to the people. Dudley replied that what Winthrop called wainscotting was nothing more than clapboards nailed to the wall to help keep out the cold.

The quarrel culminated in August. Winthrop had arranged a special meeting between himself and Dudley, at which the latter might state his grievances; there were present also the secretary of the Colony, and four ministers. The last were to act as judges. Somewhat awed by the presence of the clergy, Dudley began his complaint in a calm and decorous manner and succeeded in convincing the judges that Winthrop had been at fault in not changing his place of residence from Boston to Newtowne (Cambridge) as

he had agreed to do. After dinner, however, he accused the Governor of having assumed more authority than the charter granted to his office; this nettled Winthrop, who gave him a somewhat sharp rejoinder. Thereupon Dudley "rose up in great fury and passion, and the Governor grew very hot also, so as they both fell into bitterness." By this time the ministers were so alarmed that they interceded. Before long Dudley calmed down and the meeting proceeded in a more orderly manner. The points Dudley tried to establish were that Winthrop had exceeded his authority on certain occasions and had been lenient to the point of laxity on certain other occasions. The Governor defended himself well, but the ministers seem to have reserved judgment, "the meeting breaking up without any other conclusion but the commending the success of it by prayer to the Lord." Winthrop accompanied Dudley part way home, and outwardly the two men continued to be friends. Actually the breach was not entirely healed until five or six years later, when on a day in April they explored Concord River together and finding "two great stones" on the shore named them "the Two Brothers in remembrance that they were brothers by their children's marriage [Dudley's son Samuel had married Winthrop's daughter Mary about 1633], and did so brotherly agree."[11] In the meantime Thomas Dudley had achieved his ambition: in 1634 he succeeded Winthrop as governor of the Colony of Massachusetts Bay.

For four and a half years Winthrop had guided the affairs of the Colony carefully and wisely, and with no salary whatever. When he had received any material compensation, it had been in the form of grants of land or of gratuities from towns or individuals. Nevertheless, there were those who wanted to know how much he had received officially in money or commodities during his administration and how much he had paid out. In other words, they wanted him to account for any public property that had passed into his hands, and the General Court voted that he should do so. This was not unreasonable, but coming on top of his failure to be re-elected it savored of an investigation. Winthrop rendered his account in September, 1634. In charges against himself he even included "two pair of carriage wheels" belonging to the Company; he had not appropriated them, but he had made use of them when they "lay useless for want of the carriages, which were left in England." The other side of the ledger showed that time and again he had advanced substantial sums of money out of his own pocket for the good

of the Colony, money which had never come back to him and perhaps never would. Finally, though it was distasteful to him to do so, he referred to the personal expense to which he had been put purely because he had been chosen governor. Because of his position he had brought over from England many more servants and a much larger stock of provisions than would have been the case had he come as a private citizen or even as an Assistant. Consequently his personal expenses had been more than £500 per annum, whereas "in a private condition" he and his family could have got along on £200. "So," he wrote, "as I may truly say, I have spent, by occasion of my late office, above £1200." If there were any malcontents in Massachusetts who suspected that Winthrop had profited financially from the office he had held, they must have been ashamed of themselves when all the items and figures were laid before them. Without a murmur their unsalaried leader had spent in behalf of the Colony about £1700, all of which came from his own estate and very little of which he expected to recover.[12]

Beginning in 1634 the voters of Massachusetts-Bay elected various prominent citizens to be their governor—Dudley, Haynes, Vane, Endecott, and Bellingham—but they always came back to John Winthrop. Thus as long as he lived, he was never out of the office for more than three years at a time; and when he wasn't governor, he was invariably either deputy governor or an Assistant. There might be things about Winthrop that got on their nerves, but these were soon forgotten when they experimented with a substitute. The most frequent unfavorable criticism of him was that he was lenient,—the implication being that he was "soft." He was lenient by nature and on principle. Didn't the Bible say, "What doth the Lord require of thee but to do justly, and to *love mercy*, and to walk humbly with thy God?" These three requirements were ever in his mind, and he lived up to them as few men have done. Dudley took him to task for not carrying into immediate execution the banishment of two early offenders, Ratcliffe and Gray; but under the law the governor might postpone this until the next meeting of the court, and Winthrop had chosen to do so because "being in the winter, they must otherwise have perished." Three or four years later Governor Haynes spoke to him about his having "dealt too remissly in point of justice." Haynes appears to have been mistaken in his facts, but even so Winthrop went out of his way to state his opinion "that in the infancy of plantation, justice should be administered with more lenity than in a settled state,

because people were then more apt to transgress, partly of ignorance of new laws and orders, and partly through oppression of business and other straits." The ministers present could not take that view at all; in fact they thought it was just the other way around, and said so. Thereupon Winthrop "acknowledged that he was convinced, that he had failed in over much lenity and remissness, and would endeavor (by God's assistance) to take a more strict course hereafter."[13] As we see it, Winthrop's fault, if any, was too great deference to the opinion of others; but that was, perhaps, inevitable in so modest a man.

John Winthrop was lenient, but he was far from soft. When he was convinced that a man or woman was not merely transgressing, but was deliberately attempting something that would overthrow a basic principle of his Bible Commonwealth, he could be more than firm; he could be terrific. Thus when Israel Stoughton, one of the representatives from Dorchester, circulated a treatise which questioned the right of the Assistants to act as an upper house of the legislature, Winthrop likened him to a worm and denounced him as a troubler of Israel and "an underminder of the state."[14] And if he prosecuted Mrs. Hutchinson relentlessly, it was not because her personality and manner filled him with antipathy,—which they did,—but because she had tried to set the people of Boston against the pastor of their church. If this was not sedition,—in a body politic of their peculiar kind,—it came dangerously close to it. There was no room for lenity in a case like that.

Government by the people just because they are people was not a sound political principle from the point of view of John Winthrop;[15] and though democracy gradually crept in and ultimately prevailed, it does not necessarily follow that he was wrong. What he believed in was government by the wisest; what he and his associates established was a spiritual aristocracy in which the franchise was based on membership in the church. This might not always mean government by the best trained minds, but it should mean government by the good,—for church membership was not easily obtained. In order to be a member, as distinguished from a mere attendant at divine services, one had to experience religion and also be judged worthy by those who were already of the inner circle. Neither wealth nor brains could be substituted for godliness or at least godly aspirations; on the other hand neither poverty nor lack of educational advantages would keep one out. So the

voters of Massachusetts in Winthrop's time were not all of one class pecuniarily speaking, but they were all of one spiritual estate. There have been worse bases for the franchise.

Winthrop also believed in dignity in high places and he knew that wealth and good breeding usually inspire respect. In Old England the people had always looked up to the gentry, whether they admitted it or not, and it seemed appropriate that in New England the higher offices should be filled from the corresponding class here. This explains the election of Harry Vane as governor; he had been in Massachusetts only a few months, but his father's title and position at the court of Charles I more than offset the brevity of Harry's residence in New England. It also explains the scorn with which Winthrop noted that the people of York, Maine, had chosen a tailor to be their mayor![16]

This feeling that a magistrate, especially the chief magistrate, should be a man of means as well as a man of integrity and brains added to Winthrop's distress when—about 1640—he suffered severe financial reverses. That misfortune was due to his having placed too much trust in one James Luxford, who had charge of the farm at Tenhills. Luxford was thoroughly dishonest and he took advantage of the Governor's preoccupation with public business to feather his own nest. Whenever he wanted to increase his income he borrowed money from this person or that, ostensibly for his employer but actually for his own private use. To lend money to Governor Winthrop was, of course, almost an honor, and Luxford made the proposition additionally attractive by agreeing to pay interest (in corn) at a higher rate than was customary. He also found it possible to get funds from well-to-do individuals in England, by sending them requests for "great somes of money" in Winthrop's name. This must have gone on for some time, for when the situation was brought to his attention the Governor found that Luxford had placed him under moral obligations to the extent of £2500.[17] Very likely Winthrop could have legally washed his hands of the whole unpleasant, expensive business; but that was not the Winthrop way. Instead, he sold or mortgaged his property right and left and changed his manner of living, in order to pay all these strange debts that had been incurred without his knowledge. The court records shed additional light on the habits of Luxford and tell what finally became of him. In December, 1639, he was called before the Assistants on a charge of bigamy, was fined £100 and ordered to be set

in the stocks for an hour "upon a market day after the lecture, the next lecture day if the weather permit, or else the lecture day after"; after that he was to be sent back to England by the first opportunity. Nevertheless, he was still in the Colony when the General Court met five months later. By that time his financial misdeeds had been exposed, and the Court took notice of them; "for his forgery, lying, and other foul offenses" he was sentenced to be tied to the whipping post from the first bell till the lecture, "and after the lecture to have his ears cut off." When these punishments had been inflicted, he would have "liberty to depart out of our jurisdiction,"—which meant, presumably, that he would then be required to leave. At any rate, he did leave,—going to the Plymouth Colony.

When the extent of Winthrop's losses became known, there was a spontaneous outpouring of sympathy for him. Some of this took the form of letters from men like John Endecott of Salem and Edward Winslow of the Plymouth Colony,—who tried, rather unsuccessfully, to explain why the Lord had allowed this misfortune to befall so good a man; and some of it found more practical expression in donations of money. Of the latter, Winthrop recorded, "some of the towns sent in liberally, and some others promised, but could perform but little, and the most nothing at all. The whole came not to £500 whereof near half came from Boston, and one gentleman of Newbury, Mr. Richard Dummer, propounded for a supply in a more private way, and for example, himself disbursed £100." The General Court had no funds on which to draw, but it did what it could by granting Mrs. Winthrop three thousand acres of wild land; this domain was subsequently "laid out" between the east bank of the Concord River and the south bank of the Merrimac.[18] The other side of the picture was shown when William Hathorne, a prominent deputy from Salem, proposed that Winthrop be dropped from the board of Assistants because he had lost his money. For this unnecessary unkindness Hathorne was publicly rebuked by the Reverend John Cotton, and his scheme came to naught. Winthrop's behavior in the face of this major calamity was exemplary: he accepted his reverses with stoicism and with undiminished faith in Divine Providence.

John Winthrop always appeared at his best when under fire, and of those not infrequent occasions the most notable was his so-called impeachment in the spring of 1645. The complaint against him came from some prominent individuals in the town of Hingham; they were aggrieved because two of

their fellow townsmen, who had twice refused to give bond for their appearance in court, had been arrested and locked up. The larger issue was whether any magistrate or magistrates had authority to bring a man to trial "for words spoken concerning the power of the general court, and their liberties, and the liberties of the church etc." They petitioned the General Court for a hearing and were told that their request would be granted if they would name the magistrates they had in mind. They named Winthrop, and "the day appointed being come, the court assembled in the meeting house at Boston. Divers of the elders were present, and a great assembly of people."

Our ancestors thoroughly enjoyed a "row" of any kind because it supplied them with diversion and excitement; and the fact that Winthrop figured in this one made it more interesting than most. Winthrop was never consciously dramatic; the very idea of playing to the gallery was abhorrent to him. But on this occasion he did a very dramatic thing, one that may well have tipped the scales in favor of the cause he represented. Everyone had assumed that he, as deputy governor—Dudley was governor in that year—would sit with the other magistrates, as he would have done at any other meeting of the General Court. But John Winthrop chose otherwise. Instead of taking his accustomed place, he sat "beneath, within the bar" as if he were on trial, and removed his hat. This made a stir throughout the assembly and many "were grieved at it." But Winthrop insisted that he had been criminally accused and that he could not be both defendant and one of the judges. He was quite right; incidentally the sight of him sitting there like a prisoner suggested that he was being shamefully treated, and this prejudiced more than a few in his favor.

Early in July the Court reached a decision and Governor Dudley read the sentence. John Winthrop was acquitted, and those who had caused all the commotion were fined. Thereupon Winthrop left his place within the bar and joined his fellow magistrates. The Court was ready to end its session, but Winthrop asked leave to make a short speech. Permission was granted and he delivered a brief address on the nature of liberty. The point he tried to make was that the best form of liberty is not incompatible with subjection to authority, but is in fact dependent on authority for its existence. Man should have liberty to do "that only which is good, just and honest," not liberty to do evil. The function of authority is to restrain and subdue harmful liberty and so to preserve and promote the right kind of freedom.

This dissertation was, so to speak, Winthrop's Farewell Address to the people of Massachusetts, and the principles it enunciated are as true today as they were in 1645.[19]

Politically Winthrop's difficulty with the people of Hingham, his defense, and his acquittal strengthened his position. In the spring of 1646 he was elected governor, and he was regularly re-elected to that office as long as he lived.

Mrs. Winthrop, who had borne him eight children and had been a model of courage and devotion, fell ill on the afternoon of June 13, 1647, and died on the following morning. She was about fifty-six years old, and during her fifteen years in Boston she had won the respect and affectionate regard of the entire colony. Governor Winthrop soon found that he was a very lonely man and probably a rather helpless one in his domestic affairs. He needed a companion for the remainder of his days and he found her in the widow of Thomas Coytmore. Originally Martha Rainsborow, she was a sister of the Governor's daughter-in-law Mrs. Stephen Winthrop. A son, Joshua Winthrop, was born to them in December, 1648.

Towards the end of the winter of 1649 it was generally known that Governor Winthrop was a very sick man. He had been in bed most of the time since early in February, and was worn down by a fever and a cough. On March 26 he died at his home in Boston, and a week later he was interred in what is now the King's Chapel Burying-ground. Since that day innumerable tributes have been paid to his character, and all have been deserved; but the simple words spoken by the Reverend John Cotton, who knew him well, are as satisfactory as any because they indicate his many sides, his modesty, and his never-ending patience. He was, said Cotton, "a governour who has been for us as a friend in his counsel for all things, an help for our bodies by physick, for our estates by law, and of whom there was no fear of his becoming an enemy, like the friends of David: a governour who has been unto us as a brother; not usurping authority over the church; often speaking his advice, and often contradicted by young men, and some of low degree; yet not replying, but offering satisfaction also when any supposed offences have arisen; a governour who has been unto us as a mother, parent-like distributing his goods to brethren and neighbors at his first coming; and gently bearing our infirmities without taking notice of them."[20]

Cotton's allusion to Winthrop as a helpful physician is confirmed by vari-

ous passages in the Governor's letters. When Mrs. Winthrop was preparing for her voyage to New England, her husband advised her "for physic you shall need no other but a pound of Doctor Wright's *Electuarium lenitium*, and his direction to use it, a gallon of juice of scurvy grass to drink a little 5 or 6 mornings together, with some saltpeter dissolved in it, and a little grated or sliced nutmeg." He recommended also that she "bring juice of lemons to sea" to be eaten with her meat "as sauce," probably as a preventive of scurvy. Several years later, in 1643, he procured from Dr. Edward Stafford, a London physician, a number of recipes that would enable him to treat in an up-to-date manner most of the common maladies that might assail his family or his acquaintances.[21] This ability and willingness to prescribe for the sick or ailing was inherited by his son John Winthrop, Jr., and by his grandson Wait Still Winthrop.

Among Governor Winthrop's many benefactions were about forty books he gave to the library of Harvard College and a silver cup which he presented to the First Church in Boston. The books were destroyed when Harvard Hall burned in 1764, but the cup is well preserved as part of the communion silver of the church to which it was given. It is eleven and three quarters inches tall and is beautifully embossed and engraved; along the rim runs the inscription, "The gift of Governor Jn°. Winthrop to ye I^t^ Church." It weighs sixteen ounces, one pennyweight, and the hallmark indicates that it was made in England in 1610–11.[22]

There are two original portraits of John Winthrop. The better known one is in the State House at Boston and seems to have belonged to the colony, province, or state for at least two hundred and fifty years. It was painted in England before 1630, but the name of the artist is not known. This has been copied several times and is pretty clearly the basis of the Harvard College portrait now in the Houghton Library, which shows a schooner-rigged vessel in the background,—an anachronism that either distresses or amuses those who are acquainted with the history of shipping. Presumably the portrait owned by Robert Winthrop of New York is an early copy of the State House original.[23] (See frontispiece to *Winthrop Papers*, II.) The other original is a miniature on ivory considerably damaged by time. This is now deposited in the Massachusetts Historical Society and is well reproduced in *Winthrop Papers*, II. 48. The portrait belonging to the American Antiquarian Society is evidently based on the miniature and is supposed to be

the painting made for Adam Winthrop, a grandson of the Governor, about 1691. The American Antiquarian Society has also a miniature which was given to the Reverend William Bentley, of Salem, by James Winthrop in July, 1790. This seems to be a copy either of the original miniature or of the large painting derived from it.

Children by his first wife, Mary Forth:

JOHN, born February 12, 1606. See p. 34.

HENRY, born January 10, 1608. See p. 59.

FORTH, born December 30, 1609. See p. 62.

Mary, born in 1612 (?), married Samuel Dudley, and had issue. She died at Salisbury, Massachusetts, April 12, 1643.

Anne, born August 8, 1614, was buried August 26, 1614.

Anne, born June 26, 1615, was buried June 29, 1615.

Children by his second wife, Thomasine Clopton:

Daughter, born November 30, 1616, died December 2, 1616.

Children by his third wife, Margaret Tyndal:

STEPHEN, born March 24, 1619. See p. 63.

ADAM, born April 7, 1620. See p. 68.

DEANE, born March 16, 1623. See p. 70.

Nathaniel, baptized February 20, 1625, died young.

SAMUEL, baptized August 26, 1627. See p. 75.

Anne, baptized April 29, 1630, died on the voyage to New England in the summer of 1631.

William, baptized August 26, 1632, died young.

Sarah, baptized June 29, 1634, died young.

Child by his fourth wife, Martha (Rainsborow) Coytmore:

Joshua, born December 12, 1648, died January 11, 1651.

References

1. *Winthrop Papers*, I. 5. Our January, 1588, was to Adam Winthrop either January, 1587, or January, 1587/88, because in England at that time the calendar year began on March 25.

2. *Ibid.*, I. 154–169.

3. *Ibid.*, I. 182–190.

4. *Ibid.*, I. 173.

5. *Ibid.*, II. 161.

6. John Winthrop, *History of New England* (1853), I. 1–31.

7. *Ibid.*, I. 59.

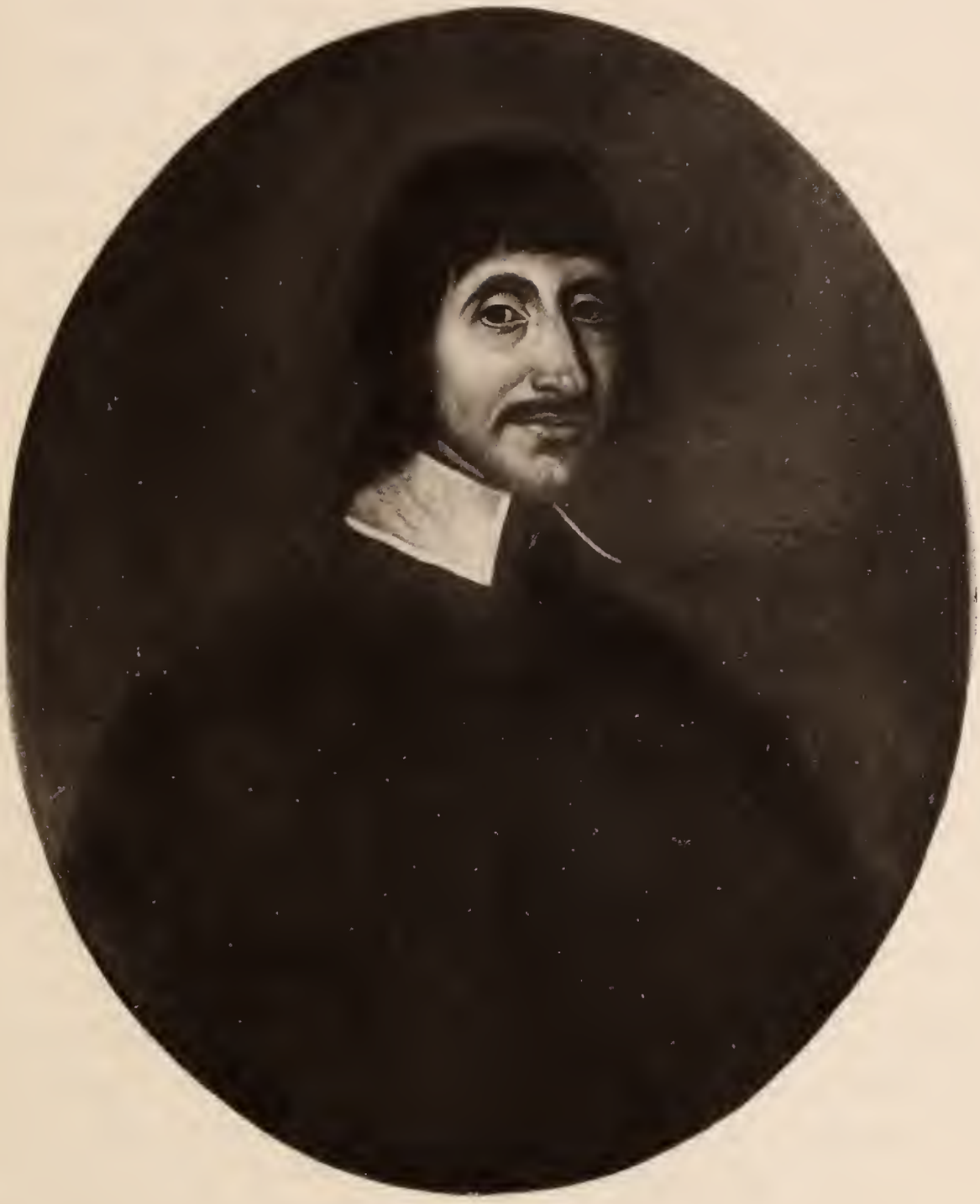
8. Robert C. Winthrop, *Life and Letters of John Winthrop*, II. 64*n.*; Temple Prime, *Some Account of the Temple Family*, 48. A map of Tenhills, drawn in 1637, is reproduced in *Winthrop Papers*, IV, facing 416; the original is in the Winthrop Manuscripts (Massachusetts Historical Society), 88. 28.
9. John Winthrop, *History of New England* (1853), I. 74.
10. *Records of the Governor and Company of the Massachusetts Bay*, edited by Nathaniel B. Shurtleff, I. 94.
11. John Winthrop, *History of New England* (1853), II. 318.
12. *Winthrop Papers*, III. 172–174.
13. John Winthrop, *History of New England* (1853), I. 212.
14. Massachusetts Historical Society *Proceedings*, LVIII. 450–457.
15. *Winthrop Papers*, IV. 53–54.
16. John Winthrop, *History of New England* (1853), II. 121.
17. *Winthrop Papers*, IV. 147, 209, 224.
18. Henry A. Hazen, *History of Billerica*, 5.
19. John Winthrop, *History of New England* (1853), II. 270–282.
20. Cotton Mather, *Magnalia Christi Americana* (1853), I. 131.
21. *Winthrop Papers*, II. 303; III. 20; Massachusetts Historical Society *Proceedings*, V (1860–62), 379–399.
22. Robert C. Winthrop, *Life and Letters of John Winthrop*, II. 438–440; *Memorial History of Boston*, edited by Justin Winsor, I. 114.
23. Charles Knowles Bolton, *The Founders*, II. 653–657; see also American Antiquarian Society *Proceedings*, New Series, XL (1930), 3–4.

CHAPTER II

The Second Generation

JOHN[2] WINTHROP (*John*[1]), usually referred to as "John Winthrop the Younger," was born at Groton, England, February 12, 1606,—"in the morning," according to his grandfather Winthrop's diary.[1] On the twenty-third, "being Sunday," he was "baptized and named John"; a rich christening robe of embroidered satin, which he is said to have worn on that occasion, was in the possession of the family for about three hundred years and is now owned by the Essex Institute. His father had just turned eighteen. His mother, Mary (Forth) Winthrop, was twenty-two. John's early childhood was spent at Groton and Great Stambridge, his mother's home in Essex; his school days found him at Bury St. Edmund's, not far from Groton, where there was an excellent Grammar School that had been founded by Edward VI. One might have expected him to go from there to Trinity College, Cambridge, for that was his father's *alma mater* and his grandfather Winthrop had been for many years its Auditor. But John Winthrop, Sr., could remember too much about undergraduate life at Cambridge to make him wish to have his first-born attend that university. Instead he chose Trinity College in Dublin, Ireland, a recent offshoot of the University of Cambridge, where perhaps the manners and customs of students would be more edifying. To Dublin, therefore, John went in the summer of 1622 when he was a little more than sixteen years old. Naturally he was much in his father's thoughts and he received frequent letters full of affection and paternal admonition. One of the earliest closed with the sentence: "The Lord in mercy season your young heart with his grace and keep you from the lusts of youth and the evil of the times."

Apparently John was a model of good behavior, for before he had been away from home many months his father increased his allowance from £20 a year to £30 and assured him "when that shall not suffice, you shall have more, only hold a sober and frugal course (yet without baseness), and I will shorten myself to enlarge you." The boy liked his new environment and was fortunate rather than the reverse in having relatives in or near Dublin. These were his Uncle and Aunt Downing, the latter being his father's sister Lucy, who was only a few years older than John himself. They took care of



John Winthrop
the Younger

him when he was ill, and provided him with clothes when those ordered in London were slow in coming over to him. When his uncle left Ireland for a few weeks, John was instructed by his father, "You must be careful to visit your Aunt, and help her to be cheerful in this time of your uncle's absence"; and we may be reasonably certain that the boy did as he was told. Among the books he needed and asked to have sent to him was the copy of "Cooper's dictionary" (*Thesaurus Linguae Romanae et Britannicae*, by Thomas Cooper) which is now in the library of the Massachusetts Historical Society.

After two years in Dublin, John returned to England and devoted himself to the study of law. During this period he stayed in London, part of the time at the house of his uncle, Thomas Fones, whose first wife was Anne Winthrop—his father's older sister. Although Anne was no longer living, the relations between the two households continued to be so cordial that the new Mrs. Fones called the elder John Winthrop her "brother" and the Winthrops called her "Aunt Fones." At twenty John was contemplating matrimony, but none of the proposed matches came to anything. At twenty-one he grew restless and wanted to go to sea, preferably as a purser on a ship going to Turkey. This could not be arranged, but a British fleet under the command of the Duke of Buckingham was about to sail for La Rochelle to relieve the Huguenots besieged there. John was interested and a place was found for him as secretary to Captain Best of H.M.S. *Due Repulse*; toward the end of June, 1627, the fleet sailed for the coast of France. Although he wrote rather optimistically to his father in the autumn, the expedition turned out to be a dismal failure and before long John was back in London wondering what to do next. In the spring of 1628 he thought seriously of going to New England with Captain John Endecott, who was recruiting colonists for a slender settlement at Naumkeag (Salem); his father was not opposed to his making the voyage out and back, or to his putting a little money into the venture, but he was not in favor of his becoming a planter there until he knew more about the place.[2] Sometimes it seemed to John that he did not care where he should go as long as it was on the sea, but deep in his heart he longed to visit the Mediterranean and the Levant. So he gradually relinquished the idea of crossing the Atlantic, and in June, 1628, sailed in the other direction in the ship *London*. On his travels he spent about a month at Leghorn, three or four months in Constantinople, a month in quarantine

near Venice, a few weeks in Venice and Padua, and finally touched at Amsterdam before returning to England. He was away about fourteen months in all.

Upon his arrival in London, John learned that his father was likely to sign an agreement to leave England within the next few months and settle on the shores of Massachusetts Bay in New England. After so long an absence from his home land he must have been somewhat taken aback by this news, but he rose to the occasion—as he invariably did—and wrote his father: "And for myself, I have seen so much of the vanity of the world that I esteem no more of the diversities of countries than as so many inns, whereof the traveller, that hath lodged in the best, or in the worst, findeth no difference when he cometh to his journey's end; and I shall call that my country, where I may most glorify God and enjoy the presence of my dearest friends. Therefore, herein I submit myself to God's will and yours, and, with your leave, do dedicate myself (laying by all desire of other employments whatsoever) to the service of God and the Company herein [the Massachusetts Bay Company], with the whole endeavors, both of body and mind." Thus John Winthrop, Jr., pledged himself to God and New England, and during the following winter he was a very busy young man. His father was elected governor of the Company in October and John handled a good deal of its affairs when the elder Winthrop could not be in London. Before long it became clear that either he or his father must remain in England a while longer in order to sell Groton Manor; and as his father had agreed to embark for New England by March 1, 1630, it devolved upon John to stay behind and take care of that business. Furthermore, as Mrs. Winthrop and the younger children were not to go out until later, he could be very useful in helping them prepare for the voyage and in accompanying them on it.

Although John never got far in the practice of the law and was more interested in travel or in science, he was always reliable and showed excellent judgment in conducting business negotiations. At first he had difficulty in finding a purchaser for Groton Manor; in the summer of 1630 he almost sold it to Brampton Gurdon, the high-sheriff of Suffolk, but something went wrong and the deal fell through. Then there were three or four nibbles, but no one would offer more than £4000. Ultimately, in the spring of 1631, he persuaded "Mr. Warren, a grocer" that it was worth at least £4200 and the sale was made.[3] In the meantime John had become a married man.

For almost a year he had had in his possession a marriage license from the Archbishop of Canterbury, allowing him and his cousin Martha Fones to be married, without further publication, either in the parish church at Groton or in the church of St. Lawrence at Ipswich. Why the young people waited so long is a mystery. Martha was one of the daughters of Uncle Fones, whose house in London had been John's headquarters after his return from Ireland, and her sister Elizabeth had married John's brother Henry in the spring of 1629. According to the Groton records, John and Martha were married on February 8, 1631.[4]

During the ensuing months John was in London much of the time, and Martha was at Groton. Letters passed between them, but their correspondence was written in such an ingenious code that for three hundred years it remained undeciphered. The present writer doesn't pretend to know what foundation there may have been for a rumor that seems to have alarmed Martha at this time, but submits the following decoded letters for the entertainment of the reader:[5]

MY SWEET HUSBAND, I came safe to Groton upon Tuesday at noon, thanks be to God, and in this little time have much wanted thy company. Since my coming I heard such strange news. It is credibly reported all over the country that thou wert taken up at the court like a very boy, and the reason was: 1, because we were near akin; 2ly, because we married without consent; 3ly, because I was under age. With so many circumstances has made my mother and all of them believe it; and to mend the matter, my Uncle Gostlin came and told my mother that she could not go to New Eng. because of that, and that she and the rest must starve and I must have 60 pound a year jointure,—with many more such like words which made them all very sad, and it was that news which made my mother write of going without us. I have a great deal of news to write thee, but time will not permit. I commend thee, therefore, to God, with my own love, and rest yours, thy faithful wife,

MARTHA WINTHROPE

Commend me to all our friends with thee. All our friends here are in health, and remember their loves unto thee. My mother would pray thee to send down a bottle of salad oil.

MY DEAR WIFE, I received thy loving letters and am very glad to hear that thou didst come safe to Groton. For those reports thou writest of, let them not trouble thee. Thou mayest satisfy them that it is all false; but I prithee do not tell any that I do not mean to pay the fine of five mark, for I fear it may by the same talking tongues be spread abroad and come to some of the aldermen's ears with additions. I hope to see thee the beginning of next week, which I think longer than ten times the time when thou art with me. Farewell, my dear. God keep us and send us a merry meeting.

I send herewith a hundred and twenty kisses, and as many more. My love remembered to my sister Winthrop and Mary. I must have a horse meet me on Monday.

Thine whilst mine own,

JOHN WINTHROP

London, May 28, 1631.

Toward the end of August, 1631, John and Martha, Mrs. Winthrop, Sr., and all the younger children except Deane sailed for New England on the *Lion*; after ten weeks at sea they reached Boston, where they were accorded a magnificent welcome. Four months later John was elected an Assistant.

In January, 1633, the Court of Assistants voted to establish a plantation at Agawam (Ipswich), which was reputed to be "the best place in the land for tillage and cattle." It was to be begun by John Winthrop, Jr., and he was to take not more than twelve men with him; later on the region would be populated by new families arriving from England. John went to Agawam in March and must have put in a strenuous spring and summer there. Toward the end of October he was moving into a house and asking his wife, who had stayed in Boston, to send up her maid and one or two other women.

Another servant at Ipswich may have been the promising young man described by one of John's English correspondents in a letter written in the summer of 1633:[6]

You shall also receive in this ship three wolf dogs and a bitch, with an Irish boy to tend them. . . . You have been in Ireland, [and] know partly the Irish condition. This is a very tractable fellow, yet of a hardy and stout courage. I am persuaded he is very honest; especially he makes great conscience of his promise and vow. I could wish (for as much as I have seen by him) you would take him to be your servant, although he be bound to your father for five years. At his first coming over he would not go to church, nor come to prayers; but first we got him up to prayers, and then on the Lord's day to catechise, and afterwards, very willingly, he hath been at church four or five times. He as yet makes conscience of Friday's fast from flesh, and doth not love to hear the Romish religion spoken against; but I hope with God's grace he may become a good convert. *Converte gradatim.* Sir, I dare boldly say it is as much honor for you to win this fellow's soul out of the subtlest snare (Rome's politic religion) of Satan as to win an Indian's soul out of the Devil's claws. Pardon my zealous boldness, for I doubt not but you shall enjoy abundantly the sweet fruits of your labours this way. As for his fitness to be a member of your church, its well if the Lord work it in three or four year; yet He can do it sooner if He please. The fellow can read and write reasonable well, which is somewhat rare for one of his condition and makes me hope the more of him.

Presumably Martha Winthrop followed the household servants to Aga-

wam and spent the following winter with John in their home in the wilderness. When the spring of 1634 finally came they had the pleasure of a visit from Governor Winthrop, who journeyed on foot from Boston "and, because the people there wanted a minister, spent the Sabbath with them and exercised by way of prophecy." But for the most part it must have been a wearisome existence for Martha, who had grown up in London, especially when John was away on one of his not infrequent trips to Boston. During the summer she and her baby daughter—the first Winthrop to be born in New England—fell ill and died; they are said to have been buried in the Old Burying-ground at Ipswich.[7]

This domestic tragedy led to a sudden change in the plans of John Winthrop, Jr. Within a few weeks he had turned his back on Ipswich and all the rest of Massachusetts and was on his way to England. His ship was bound for Barnstaple, in the west of England, but when she was driven to the coast of Ireland by a storm, John proved himself a most adaptable traveler. Landing at Galway, he renewed his acquaintance with friends in and about Dublin, and then journeyed pleasantly to the North of Ireland and over to Scotland. From Scotland he gradually made his way up to London, stopping here and there to interview prominent Puritans and to tell them about New England. There was something about John that made him more than welcome wherever he went; he was not handsome, perhaps, but he had an interesting countenance and an unusually attractive, outgoing personality. These qualities and others made him an excellent promoter of any project, and it is not surprising that the Puritans with whom he talked "observed his coming among them as a special providence of God."[8]

Among the many persons young John Winthrop interested in New England were two of his father's aristocratic friends, Lord Say and Sele and Lord Brooke. These gentlemen were more than open-minded about coming over to the Bay Colony on condition that they and others like them should constitute an hereditary House of Lords in Massachusetts. This stipulation sounded reasonable to them, but the elder Winthrop and his associates were unwilling to go that far; godliness in one generation does not always mean godliness in the next, and they would give no assurance that their Lordships' descendants would always be members of the upper house of the General Court. This point was not settled until the following year, but in the meantime Lord Say and Lord Brooke and a group of associates includ-

ing Sir Richard Saltonstall decided to establish an independent plantation on land that had been granted them in 1632. With this end in mind they engaged John Winthrop, Jr., to go to the mouth of the Connecticut River and build a fort there; they guaranteed him men, ammunition, and money, and gave him a commission, dated July 18, 1635, constituting him "governor of the river Connecticut, with the places adjoining thereunto, for and during the space of one whole year after his arrival there."[9]

Winthrop set sail for America in the summer of 1635, taking with him a new Mrs. John Winthrop, Jr., aged 19, to grace his home at Ipswich. She was Elizabeth, daughter of Edmund Reade, of Wickford, in the county of Essex.[10] With them on the *Abigail*—or on her companion, the *Defence*—were a number of other notable Puritans, including the Reverend John Wilson, pastor of the church in Boston, Massachusetts,—he had come over to England with John in the preceding autumn,—young Henry Vane, and the Reverend Hugh Peter, a bustling zealot who had disturbing ideas of his own as to how anything and everything should be run. Incidentally Mr. Peter was the new Mrs. Winthrop's stepfather. Another passenger on the *Abigail* was John's young half brother Deane, who had remained in England when the rest of the family emigrated in 1630 and 1631. They reached Boston early in October, and after spending three or four weeks in getting re-established, John despatched a party of twenty men to the mouth of the Connecticut to take possession of it and put up some buildings. The place was to be called Saybrook in honor of its proprietors Lord Say and Lord Brooke. The Winthrop party had hardly arrived at its destination when some Dutchmen appeared in a sloop; they, too, had intended to take possession of the mouth of the river, "but our men got two pieces on shore, and would not suffer them to land." Before long Winthrop sent down Lion Gardiner, "an expert engineer," to build a fort, and placed him in charge of affairs there.

If John himself went to Saybrook at this time, he soon returned to Massachusetts for the winter and stayed there until March. Then he left his wife in Boston and devoted his time and energy to the Connecticut project, which was not going too well. Lion Gardiner was a first-rate lieutenant, but the Pequot Indians, who inhabited the region, caused a good deal of trouble which later became serious. Early in July Governor Vane commissioned Winthrop to treat with them and try to improve the situation.

Sometimes it must have seemed to John that wherever he went there was difficulty of one kind or another and that he was always the one elected to solve the problem. Even in his own Ipswich, soon after his return from England in 1635, things were not what they should be, and Mr. Ward, the minister, addressed a long letter to him, in which he dwelt upon the "multitudes of idle and profane young men, servants and others" who overran the place, and upon the tendency of the more desirable citizens to abandon Ipswich and go elsewhere. And there is a certain amount of justification for his complaining that Winthrop had been remiss; his going to England was bad enough and now his frequent absence due to this Saybrook business was most disheartening. If he had stayed on the job, Ipswich might have prevented "the confluence of many ill and doubtful persons" who were given to "drinking and pilfering." Somebody ought to tell young John Winthrop, Jr., what was what, and Nathaniel Ward, being almost thirty years his senior and the minister of the town in which he was supposed to reside, had the courage to do it. "I fear," he wrote him, "your tie or obligation to this state, and in special to this town, is more than you did well consider when you engaged yourself another way; and I fear your endeavors that way will not be *operae ac spei pretium.*" But no one could hold out in that vein very long towards Winthrop; and having relieved his mind and conscience, Mr. Ward added, "We look and long for you here, and are in a misery for the want of you. The Lord bring you in his season, and in the meantime afford you his presence and blessing wherever you are."[11]

This gentle reprimand may have been partly responsible for Winthrop's dropping the Connecticut enterprise when the year for which he was appointed was over. At any rate, in the autumn of 1636 he directed Gardiner to send his servants and livestock back to the Bay Colony, and for a few months Ipswich felt that it might count on his staying where it wanted him to stay. He was appointed lieutenant-colonel of the Essex militia and was chosen one of the prudential men of the town. Then came an alarming rumor: John Winthrop, Jr., was about to be appointed commander of the Castle (now Fort Independence) at Boston. This so disturbed Mr. Ward and more than fifty other substantial citizens that they sent a petition to the governor and Assistants begging them not to deprive their town of one whose presence was so grateful and useful to them. "It was for his sake," they maintained, "that many of us came to this place, and without him we should not

have come. His abode with us hath made our abode here much more comfortable than otherwise it would have been. Mr. Dudley's leaving us hath made us much more desolate and weak than we were, and if we should lose another magistrate it would be too great a grief to us and breach upon us, and not a magistrate only but our Lieutenant Colonel so beloved of our soldiers and military men that this remote corner would be left so destitute and desolate." The names of the signers make one wonder why Mr. Ward was so gloomy about the respectability of the town when he took Winthrop to task a year and a half before this time; Richard Saltonstall (son of Sir Richard) heads the list which includes Samuel Appleton, William Hubbard, Daniel Denison and dozens of other good New England names. The appointment was not made, and for the time being Winthrop stood by the town that had been founded under his leadership.

If John felt cooped up in his "remote corner" of Massachusetts, he had at least the satisfaction of being where his books were. His library contained more than a thousand volumes at this time and covered a wide range of subjects. If the nucleus of it, which is now in the New York Society Library, represents a cross-section, half of it was made up of scientific works, less than a quarter would be classified as religious, about one seventh as history and literature, and less than one tenth related to languages, law, and philosophy. Half of the total were in Latin, a quarter in English, and the remainder in German, French, Dutch, Italian, Greek, and Spanish. His chief interest was in chemistry. He continued to acquire books as long as he lived and in all probability his collection was for more than a century the best scientific library in any of the English colonies.[12]

But book learning as such never satisfied John Winthrop, Jr.; he wanted to put it to work. Before coming to New England he invented a new kind of windmill, which he hoped would be useful in the Colony. Although he made "a rude model" of it and was convinced that it was feasible, it does not seem to have revolutionized the construction of windmills in either the New World or the Old.[13] Later on, when he was supposed to be a stay-at-home resident of Ipswich, he set up some experimental saltworks at Beverly and spent about two years there trying to make them behave as they should. In spite of his efforts, they seem to have been a failure. He was right in thinking that it ought to be possible to extract salt from sea water by evaporation, but the New England climate or *something* always got the better of him!

Years after his final departure from Ipswich he was still working on the problem and he got the General Court to grant him a patent for a new process; but for one reason or another even that didn't function satisfactorily when it was tried out in the West Indies.[14] It is easy to make fun of an unsuccessful inventor, yet one has to respect the enterprise and optimism with which Winthrop tried to make his scientific knowledge of use to himself, to New England, and to mankind.

The natural resources of this new country appealed strongly to John's imagination, and his knowledge of chemistry and related subjects enabled him to spy them out and appraise their commercial value. Iron was one of the first minerals to evoke his interest. New England and the other colonies needed iron implements of various kinds, and to import them from England was expensive. It was not long before Winthrop discovered that there was plenty of limonite bog iron ore in the ponds and swamps of Massachusetts, and by the summer of 1641 he had made up his mind that the most promising deposits were at Braintree, about ten miles southeast of Boston. His saltworks at Beverly had proved disappointing, but here was something that was bound to be a success; all that was needed was a little capital and some workers who were experienced. These could be obtained only in England. Good-bye Ipswich, good-bye fellow magistrates, good-bye wife and three children; on August 3, 1641, John Winthrop, Jr., was off for England to organize a company and recruit laborers for the sure-fire ironworks!

This journey proved to be extraordinarily long and very rough. It took Winthrop's ship two weeks to get to Newfoundland; there he had to wait three weeks before sailing for England in a vessel of only sixty tons. The voyage was stormy, but some of the winds must have been following for the crossing to Bristol was made in twenty days.[15] As New England had just entered upon a calamitous financial depression, it was not easy to persuade merchants and financiers to invest in any enterprise in that part of the world. Probably it required much more time than Winthrop had anticipated, but he had a way with him and he also had assistance from his influential uncle Emanuel Downing and his wife's stepfather Hugh Peter. He, in turn, helped Mr. Peter in his mission, which was to raise money and acquire goods for the stagnant Colony of Massachusetts Bay. At last, in May, 1643, more than a year and a half after his arrival in England, Winthrop embarked at Gravesend with a number of ironworkers and a goodly amount of equip-

ment; but his troubles had only begun. A tiresome custom-house officer held up the ship until they had lost a favorable wind; then the elements took their turn and kept them hovering off the English coast for more than six weeks. It was autumn before Winthrop and his party reached New England. In the meantime hot weather and ship fever had so weakened both him and the workingmen that they were not fit to undertake anything strenuous when they landed; and before they recuperated, the approach of winter had frozen the ponds and bogs, rendering them unworkable until the spring of 1644 should open them again.

Although it was pretty well settled in Winthrop's mind that the ironworks would be set up at Braintree, he made a careful survey of other parts of New England, from Marshfield in the Plymouth Colony to Scarborough, Maine, before beginning any construction. Braintree still seemed to be the best place, and before long a forge was in operation there,—on or near the Monatiquot River. More or less simultaneously Winthrop established a plant at Saugus, about ten miles northeast of Boston. There he erected the Ironworks House for the managers, and another—the "Scotch-Boardman House"—for the laborers, both of which are still standing. There, too, he set up a furnace.

This looked like progress, but the imported workers were far from ideal: as they were not Puritans, they would not conform to local customs and were frequently summoned into court for fighting, swearing, drinking and Sabbath-breaking. Nothing went really well until Richard Leader, a Puritan gentleman sent over by the English stockholders, came upon the scene. Leader had had experience with ironworks of the same kind in Ireland, and his knowledge, ability, and personality proved invaluable to Winthrop. Under his management, which began in the summer of 1645, the production of bar and wrought iron grew apace, kettles, anchors, and other much needed articles were cast, and before long the plant at Saugus was turning out not only all the iron needed in Massachusetts but a small surplus for export. As far as the colony was concerned, Winthrop's ironworks were a success; but the stockholders were not getting the dividends they had hoped for, and their prospects were diminished when the local authorities began to tax the property. Beset by the stockholders' demands for profits, the workers' demands for high wages, and the town's demands for taxes, Leader had more to contend with than he could stand. He left, and went to Barbados. After

that the plant went rapidly downhill, jolted on its course by internal dissension and innumerable lawsuits. One may call the thing a failure, but John Winthrop, Jr., had wakened men's minds to the possibilities that existed in New England's mineral resources and his experiment had equipped many a farm, kitchen, and ship with useful implements. He was indeed a public benefactor.

In 1644, before the ironworks had become much more than a source of worry to him, Winthrop was fascinated by a deposit of graphite or black lead at Sturbridge, Massachusetts, about sixty miles west of Boston, in a region which the Indians called Tantiusques. A hill there was full of it, and the Indians streaked their faces with it. This was something that ought to be taken hold of and developed. In the autumn of that year the General Court granted him "the hill at Tantousq . . . with liberty to purchase some land there of the Indians." Through his agent, Stephen Day, Winthrop immediately acquired a tract extending ten miles from the hill in every direction, and doubtless had high hopes of making a fortune for himself and good returns for others who invested in his lead mine. According to his friend Dr. Robert Child, graphite was used by mathematicians, painters, and limners, and could be made into combs wherewith gray-haired ladies of Italy and Spain might restore their tresses to their original hue. Furthermore, there was always the possibility of finding silver with the graphite. All this sounded very good to Winthrop, who organized an informal company to exploit the mine. Unfortunately the success of a commercial venture often depends upon other factors than a copious supply of raw material and the marketability of the proposed product. John learned this by more than one experience. In his time Tantiusques was in the wilderness; workmen would not stay, and transportation consumed what profit there might have been on the small amount of graphite they took out of the ground. Before long the lead mine and the land about it became just another piece of property to be mentioned in his will and handed down to his sons. It should be added, however, that when the region was settled, long after Winthrop's death, the mine was reopened and worked at a profit; in fact, it has been operated even in the twentieth century.[16]

If the Winthrop family had remained in England, Groton Manor would have descended to John Winthrop, Jr. As things were, however, Groton Manor had been sold in order to provide his father with working capital for

the New England project, and a good deal of that money had gone into channels that benefited the colony rather than the family. Although John had a modest fortune of his own, which had come to him from his mother's family and through marriage, Governor Winthrop wished him to have the American equivalent of Groton Manor. Obviously this was Tenhills, his plantation on the south bank of the Mystic River between Charlestown Neck and Medford; and as his financial reverses had made the future all too uncertain, the elder Winthrop decided to give John the Tenhills property during his own lifetime. Accordingly, in September, 1643, he deeded to him the "farm in Charlestown called Tenhills"; and in addition he gave him twelve hundred acres on the Concord River "about three miles beneath the town."[17] Tenhills in 1643 was not what it had been a few years before. Governor Winthrop had alienated most of it in order to satisfy his creditors. All John got was thirty acres; but in the next two or three years he recovered the remainder and the farm became once more a domain of six or seven hundred acres. As his wife and children had lived there much of the time since his departure for England in the summer of 1641, it was reasonable to suppose that John Winthrop, Jr., now getting on towards forty, would settle down on his New England estate and become a permanent resident of Massachusetts. But, as we shall soon see, it was never safe to predict what he would do next or where he would be. Until he was nearly sixty years old, John was almost continually on the move.

As a result of the conquest of the Pequot Indians in 1637, Massachusetts considered that much of the eastern part of Connecticut was territory which it might dispose of as it saw fit. John Winthrop, Jr., knew that country well, for he had often traversed it or skirted its coastline when he was directing the Saybrook enterprise. He remembered a singularly beautiful island at the eastern entrance to Long Island Sound; it was called Fisher's Island, and he wanted it. The General Court granted it to him in the autumn of 1640, and four years later it authorized him to start a plantation in the Pequot country; it was felt that a settlement there would help to keep the Indians in their place. Late in the autumn of 1645 he made a journey through the wilderness to Springfield and Hartford, and thence to Saybrook; he had intended to visit his lead mine at Tantiusques on the way, but changed his mind when surprised by an early fall of snow. From Saybrook he returned to Boston by the way of Providence, and on the mainland near his Fisher's

Island he spent about one whole day in searching for a suitable site for a settlement.[18] The place he finally chose was the present New London, which in his time was known first as Nameag and later as Pequot. The fact that he had selected it and would go there to live practically assured the success of the proposed plantation. In the summer of 1646 he established himself on Fisher's Island, and in the autumn he brought his wife, his elder son Fitz-John, his infant daughter Margaret, and his brother Deane down from Boston by water.[19] They spent that winter on the island and in the following spring moved over to Nameag, where a settlement had been begun and a house was now ready for their occupancy.

For two or three years thereafter Winthrop made frequent journeys to and from Boston and continued to serve as an Assistant in the government of the Bay Colony. He was still a Massachusetts man, for Massachusetts claimed jurisdiction over the Pequot region. But after the New England Confederation decided that New London and its environs should be a part of Connecticut, Winthrop told the General Court at Boston that he must decline re-election. Though he still owned real estate in Massachusetts, his actual place of residence was in Connecticut and it was right that he should be considered a citizen of that Colony. Doubtless his father's death in 1649 made it easier for him to accept this change of status. Massachusetts felt bereft; but both of the New England colonies must have rejoiced when Winthrop resisted overtures that might have lured him to New Netherland.[20] That would have been too much.

In the spring of 1651 Winthrop found himself elected an Assistant in the Connecticut government, and almost immediately he obtained the right to own and enjoy forever any mines of lead, copper or tin, or any deposits of "antimony, vitriol, black lead, alum, stone salt, salt springs, or any other the like" which he might discover and develop within the limits of the Colony. The only restriction was that the discovery must be in public lands judged by the Court to be unfit "to make a plantation of," in other words, among the mountains and rocky hills. It was a good bargain on both sides, for the colony would benefit from any exploration and development Winthrop might make of its natural resources; and as he would be at some expense,—whether or not he found anything worth while,—he should be allowed the possibility of considerable profit. This grant and the man's propensity for searching and discovering gave rise, no doubt, to the tradition

that Winthrop used to resort to a mountain in East Haddam, Connecticut, with a servant, and after spending three weeks there, roasting ores, assaying metals, and casting gold rings, would return to New London with "plenty of gold." The mountain came to be known as "the Governor's Ring," and the legend became so well established that Governor Jonathan Trumbull related it to the President of Yale College as a fact,[21]—which it well may have been, though what constitutes "plenty of gold" is always a question. Benjamin Tompson, who was a classmate of one of Winthrop's sons at Harvard, seems to have been well acquainted with his reputation as a prospector and assayer. Tompson was primarily a schoolmaster; but he wrote a good deal of verse, including a "Funeral Tribute" to John Winthrop, Jr., in which the following lines occur:

> *Sometimes his wary steps, but wandring too,*
> *Would carry him the Chrystal Mountains to,*
> *Where Nature locks her Gems, each costly spark*
> *Mocking the Stars, spher'd in their Cloisters dark.*
> *Sometimes the Hough, anon the Gardners Spade*
> *He deign'd to use, and tools of th' Chymick trade.*

In the same stanza Tompson informs us "His common Acts with brightest lustre shone, But in Apollo's Art he was alone." Although Apollo was gifted in various fields of human endeavor, the one the poet had in mind was the art of healing. From his father, Winthrop inherited the desire to help ailing humanity and from him he acquired also a certain amount of medical knowledge. Being an amateur chemist and a student of the sciences in general, he was able to develop his interest in medicine and keep pretty well abreast of the times in that profession. What he had to give he gave freely and generously, and no doubt his winning personality had much to do with his patients' progress on the road to recovery. Among those whose health he tried to restore were members of the family of the Reverend John Davenport, one of the founders of the New Haven colony, and the people of that settlement were so impressed with his renown as a physician that their General Court invited him to spend a large part of each year at New Haven and offered to provide him with a house and other accommodations.[22] This was in the autumn of 1654, less than ten years after Winthrop's beginnings at New London. He was a magistrate of Connecticut, which was at that time a separate government from New Haven. Nevertheless, to the dismay of his friends and neighbors at the mouth of the Thames, he accepted the invitation. He

preserved his independence, however, by declining to take the house in New Haven either as a gift or on a rent-free basis; in the course of time he bought it for £100, paying for it with goats he had raised on Fisher's Island.[23]

The New Haven proposition interested him the more because he was planning to set up some ironworks in that vicinity; but this did not make the people at New London any happier about his absence. New Haven was jubilant, of course, and toward the end of 1655 Davenport wrote him:

> Many things are done, viz.: the house made warm, the well cleansed, the pump fitted for your use, some provision of wood is laid in, and twenty loads will be ready whensoever you come; and sundry who have received help from you have, by my wife's instigation, prepared thirty bush. of wheat for the present, and Sister Glover hath 12 lb. of candles ready for you. My wife hath procured a maid-servant for you, who is reported to be cleanly and saving; her mother is of the Church, and she is kept from a place in Conneticut (where she was much desired) to serve you.[24]

The other side of the picture is given in a letter Winthrop received about a year later from his New London friend and fellow scientist, Jonathan Brewster:

> We and the whole town and church wants you. We are as naked without you, yea indeed, we are as a body without a head, and [would] that we might enjoy your presence. I fear God sees us not worthy of such a blessing. My prayers to God is and shall be to him for that end; and my poor ability shall not be wanting to further the same. I have therefore stirred the townsmen to grant you what encouragement they can afford you to set up a forge here, which, if you please here to settle, may be one means to bring you back again.[25]

It was not long before New Haven lost John Winthrop, Jr.,—not to New London but to Hartford! In May, 1657, he was elected governor of Connecticut, and the General Court virtually ordered him to reside at Hartford, the Colony's seat of government, and placed a house there at his disposal. To Hartford he went; and as it turned out, Hartford was his headquarters for almost twenty years. After this first year in office he was not re-elected at once, because Connecticut had a rule that no one should be governor in two successive terms. But after that year the Colony changed its policy, and from 1659 until his death in 1676 Winthrop was continuously elected to the chief magistracy. It often irked him that he could not spend more time at New London and devote more attention to his stud and stock-farm on Fisher's Island. However, it does not necessarily follow that absence from New London always meant that he was to be found in Hartford, as we shall see.

The Connecticut Colony had never had a charter and its status in the eyes

of the law was distinctly doubtful. While the government of England remained Puritan, it had little to fear from that part of the world; but when Charles II was restored to the throne in 1660, the situation became altogether different: almost anything might happen, and the most probable was that it would be turned into a province administered by a royal governor. In order to prevent such a calamity the General Court appointed Governor Winthrop its Agent and sent him to London to procure a charter. They believed that if anyone could succeed in a mission of this kind, he was the man; and they were right. In the summer or autumn of 1661 he sailed for England, taking with him, it seems, his younger son, Wait.[26]

According to his grandson, "John Winthrop, F.R.S.," who was not always accurate, Winthrop sailed from New Amsterdam and visited the Netherlands before crossing to England. This sounds quite probable, and so does the grandson's statement about the welcome he received there: "I heard my Father say that when he was in Holland with my Grand Father, that at their arrival the Dutch caused Newspapers to be put out wherein they inserted that John Winthrop, Esq., Governor of New England, and his son was arrived at Amsterdam from America, which occasioned many visits; and some gentlemen chemists that he had been acquainted with in his younger time performed great journeys to see their ancient friend again, whom they had not seen had it not been for the Newspapers." After this ovation subsided, the travelers continued on their way to London.[27]

Fortunately for John Winthrop, Jr., and the colony he represented, his old patron and employer Lord Say was still living and active. His Lordship was, to be sure, a Puritan, but he had influential friends who were conspicuous Royalists. Among these was Edward Montagu, second Earl of Manchester, who had recently assisted in the Restoration and was now Charles II's Lord Chamberlain.[28] Manchester was what might be called an ex-Puritan, for until he fell out with Cromwell he had fought Charles I both in Parliament and on the field of battle. Winthrop was a born diplomat, blessed with the kind of personality that wins the other fellow whether he expected to be won or not. The Earl of Manchester was not long in discovering that he and this delightful gentleman from Connecticut spoke the same language, and he went out of his way to introduce him to other prominent persons at Court. The result was that months before Winthrop sailed back across the Atlantic, in the spring of 1663, he was able to send over a charter that assured the

continuance of self-government for Connecticut and granted it territory extending from the Pawcatuck River to the Pacific Ocean.[29] Incidentally the document merged the New Haven Colony with Connecticut; in other words, it erased New Haven as an entity, ignoring its existence and granting its territory to Connecticut. How Governor Winthrop explained this to Mr. Davenport and his other friends in New Haven is not recorded; but as one looks back upon it, it was a very sensible arrangement. Thus through the phenomenal adroitness of its Agent, Connecticut emerged from the uncertainties of the Restoration stronger and larger than it had ever been and more securely independent. No wonder it continued to re-elect Winthrop governor as long as he lived.

For years Winthrop had corresponded with the leading scientists of England,—notably with Sir Kenelm Digby, who, incidentally, had tried to persuade him that he should return to his native country and stay there.[30] In the year and a half he spent in England as Agent for Connecticut, Winthrop renewed and expanded this interesting circle of acquaintances and was elected a fellow of the Royal Society of London for Improving of Natural Knowledge, soon after that institution was founded. His sponsor was William Brereton, who became Lord Brereton. Before returning to America he contributed much to the proceedings of the Society, reading papers before it on a variety of subjects such as the making of tar and pitch in New England, "the conveniency of building of ships in some of the northern parts of America," and Indian corn; he also exhibited a self-feeding lamp, which he may have invented, a little stone that had changed color after calcination, a curious variety of earth "brought by him out of New England, which swam for about half an hour, and then sunk to the bottom," some bluish grains of Indian corn from the West Indies, some bottles of beer brewed of "Maiz-bread," and finally "the tail of a rattle-snake, which, he said, increased every year by one ring; whence the people conclude the age."[31] It is a remarkable list, almost worthy of Benjamin Franklin.

While in England, Winthrop doubtless brightened up his knowledge of medicine. His favorite prescription was something he called "rubila," a compound of four grains of diaphoretic antimony, twenty grains of nitre, and a little salt of tin plus something to color it red. This could be relied upon to make the patient perspire, and there is no reason to think that it did not help many to get rid of what ailed them. For internal bruises he was apt to give

spermaceti, which may have been beneficial. Very rarely did he resort to such medieval remedies as ground-up sowbugs, unlovely little creatures with many legs. Some of these potions were nauseous, and one feels a good deal of sympathy for Mrs. Davenport who "took but one half of one of the papers but could not bear the taste of it" and was discouraged from taking any more. Others must have been fairly palatable, for Samuel Gorton of Rhode Island marveled that "a thing so little in quantity, so little in scent, so little in taste, and so little to sense in operation, should beget and bring forth such effects."[32] It is not for the layman to judge of the efficacy of Winthrop's prescriptions and compounds, but the present writer is willing to surmise that just the sight of this charming, sunny person and the sound of his voice made many a man, woman, and child feel better the minute he entered the sickroom. He loved all kinds of people, and all kinds of people responded to his affection and interest.

Soon after Winthrop's return to Connecticut, England sprang a surprise on the Netherlands: although the two countries were at peace, that fact did not deter Charles II from sending out an expedition, commanded by Richard Nicolls, to capture New Netherland. New England co-operated in this unlooked-for descent upon Manhattan Island, and Governor Winthrop was present when New Netherland capitulated in the summer of 1664; in fact, he used his personal influence with Governor Stuyvesant to induce him to surrender.[33] Inevitably war between England and the Netherlands followed, and some aspects of this conflict were not so pleasant as the easy seizure of New Amsterdam had been: the enemy had a way of capturing British shipping, and on at least one occasion Winthrop learned that a cargo in which he was considerably interested had failed to reach its destination. This and other financial losses were disturbing, and he felt that it would be wise to retire from the governorship and so be able to devote more time to his own affairs. He tried to do so in 1667, but the General Court insisted that he must continue in office; however, since he felt land-poor, it considerately exempted his property from taxation and granted him £110 from the colony treasury.[34]

Probably what Winthrop most desired was leisure in which to pursue various scientific interests, for during this period he wrote many letters to his associates in the Royal Society, which indicate that almost everything under the sun aroused his curiosity,—tides in the Bay of Fundy and at Hell

Gate, "some new notions about finding the longitude at sea," waterspouts, swarming insects, comets, minerals, the depth of the ocean, a variety of Indian corn "which may probably ripen well in England, if planted there," the effects of lightning, new ways of making salt and tar, and "a way of trade and bank without money." When his nephew, Adam Winthrop, went to England about 1670, Governor Winthrop sent over by him a number of American curiosities which Adam presented in person to the Royal Society. These created such an intellectual stir that "His Majesty himself, hearing of some of the rarer things, would see them; and accordingly the extraordinary fish, the dwarf oaks, the gummy fragrant bark with knobs, the silken pods, the bags with little shells in them, etc., were carried to Whitehall, where the King saw them with no common satisfaction, expressing his desire in particular to have your stellar fish engraven and printed." A little later a parcel from Winthrop contained among other things a horseshoe crab, a hummingbird's nest with two eggs in it, and a "featherd fly"; and on another occasion there was a present of "pods with silk like cotton." All these were shown to Charles II. He was "much pleased" with "the humbird-nest," but even more interested in the milkweed (?) pods, and word went back to Winthrop that "his Majesty would be well pleased, if you sent over such a quantity of your silkpods as would make him a pillow. It may occasion his Majesty to think on you as often he lays his head on a pillow." The member to whom "the pods with silk like cotton" were sent was not so sanguine about their utility, and he wrote the donor, "Could the down of them be spun or wrought into hats, etc., it were considerable; but it is too tender for any such use: and they tell me it will not long keep its springiness if it be kept under pressure." Nevertheless, he had the seeds picked out, and arranged to have some of them planted in England.[35]

Governor Winthrop had a three-and-a-half-foot telescope, with which he saw, or thought he saw, a fifth satellite of Jupiter, and he wrote to Sir Robert Moray, a fellow member of the Royal Society, about it. Sir Robert may have smiled; but there *is* a fifth satellite, the existence of which was established by Barnard at the Lick Observatory two hundred and twenty-eight years after Winthrop made his observation and remarkable conjecture at Hartford. In 1672 Winthrop presented this little telescope to Harvard College; it was probably the first astronomical instrument that institution ever possessed.[36]

In October, 1670, Winthrop tried again to resign from the office of governor of Connecticut and gave as a reason the "necessity either of a voyage into England, or much longer stay in Massachusetts than I intended when I came from Hartford." But it was no use; the General Court merely increased his salary and granted him some valuable land.[37] Two years later his wife Elizabeth, having taken care of him during a severe illness, gave out and died. This was an irreparable loss, and Winthrop did not marry again. It may be remembered that she came from Wickford, England. This accounts for the name of Wickford, Rhode Island. In Winthrop's time there was between Rhode Island and Connecticut a sort of buffer state known as the Narragansett Country. Of this domain Winthrop was one of the principal proprietors, and when a settlement was made in one of its prettiest parts it was named Wickford. Not far from the village, and on the trail that connected Boston with New London, was a well-known spring which must have been very welcome to travelers to and from the Bay Colony. This was called Elizabeth's Spring in honor of Mrs. Winthrop, and thus her own name as well as the name of her former home was preserved in a part of New England through which she often passed.[38]

When King Philip's War broke out in the summer of 1675, the situation called for united action on the part of the New England colonies. The old Confederation which John Winthrop, Sr., had framed and brought into existence thirty-odd years earlier took on new life in the current emergency, and Connecticut chose Governor Winthrop and his son Wait Still to represent it in the sessions to be held at Boston. Those meetings began in the autumn of 1675 and the Winthrops were still in Boston when the spring of 1676 came in. Towards the end of March, Governor Winthrop prepared to return to Hartford; he was seventy years old and was beginning to feel his years. But before he left Boston he took cold, grew rapidly worse, and died on April 5.[39] Five days later his body was placed beside that of his father in the Winthrop tomb in the King's Chapel Burying-ground.

Evidently Winthrop had guessed that the end was near, for only two days before he died he made a new will. His property was to be divided among his seven children, each of his two sons to have twice as much as each of his five daughters; and as he had already given good farms to his daughters Elizabeth (Mrs. Antipas Newman, later Mrs. Zerubbabel Endecott) and Lucy (Mrs. Edward Palmes), their portions were to be adjusted accordingly.[40]

No appraisal of John Winthrop, Jr., is necessary. Nor should one yield to the temptation to compare him with his father and try to determine which was the more remarkable man. Each was great in his own way; each made the best possible use of the talents with which he was endowed; and each accomplished much for the good of his fellow men. But one aspect of the younger Winthrop remains to be brought out: his tolerance in matters concerning religious belief. John Winthrop, Jr., believed in right living and in the fundamentals of Christianity, but the scientific cast of his mind prevented him from being a theologian and from giving blind credence to what the theologians maintained to be the truth. Outwardly he conformed, but creed and dogmas did not go very deep with him. Men's speculations about the nature of God were interesting in their way, but dull in comparison with the manifestations of God which he encountered in all kinds of natural phenomena from tides to comets and planets. This attitude and his innate friendliness made him tolerant of those whose religious beliefs were different from that to which he subscribed. He and Roger Williams were on more than cordial terms; Heaven only knew what Williams believed,—it changed so often,—but he was a good neighbor and an interesting man, and Winthrop always enjoyed spending a night at his house on his frequent journeys between New London and Boston. And though the colony of Connecticut, like that of Massachusetts-Bay, passed stringent laws against Quakers and other heretics, Winthrop's enforcement of them was as moderate as he could well make it. In the 1650's he was one of Connecticut's delegates at a meeting of the New England Confederation where the burning question was what to do with Quakers who persisted in returning to a colony from which they had been banished. Shouldn't they be put to death? The Confederation voted that they should, but Winthrop demurred and insisted that his dissent be entered on the record.[41] Born diplomat and charmer though he was, when he was sure he was right he could be as firm as a rock.

A portrait of Winthrop, which was probably painted in 1635, is owned by Robert Winthrop of New York; there is a copy of it at the Massachusetts Historical Society. Intelligence, sensitiveness, and amiability are the qualities one sees in his face at once. Here is the Mediterranean traveler, the comforting physician, and perhaps the interesting Fellow of the Royal Society. If no name were attached to it and one were told, "This is called 'A Portrait of the Artist by Himself,'" one would probably reply, "Yes, I

should know he was either an artist or a poet, and a good one." But where is the industrial pioneer, the promoter who could interest London capitalists, the governor of Connecticut, and the agent who procured from Charles II a better charter than his constituents had even hoped for? Did the artist miss these sides of John Winthrop, Jr., or weren't they discernible in his face when he was a young man of twenty-nine? Whatever the correct answer may be, we cannot but rejoice that this portrait was made and that it has come down to us through the centuries. Our only regret is that the name of the artist is unknown.

Child, by his first wife, Martha Fones:

Daughter (name unknown), died in infancy, in 1634.

Children, by his second wife, Elizabeth Reade:

Elizabeth, baptized at Boston, July 3, 1636, married the Reverend Antipas Newman, November 12, 1658, and had issue. Mr. Newman was the minister at Wenham, Massachusetts, and had preached at New London. He died in October, 1672. Some years later his widow married Zerubbabel Endecott, the younger son of Governor John Endecott. She had no children by her second marriage. She died in December, 1716, and was buried in the Winthrop tomb in the King's Chapel Burying-ground.

John ("Fitz-John"), born March 14, 1638, became governor of Connecticut. See p. 81.

Lucy, born January 28, 1640, married Edward Palmes, a merchant of New Haven, in 1664. She died without issue, November 24, 1676.[42]

Wait Still, born February 27, 1642, became chief justice of Massachusetts-Bay. See p. 97.

Mary, baptized at Boston, September 15, 1644, died young,—probably early in the summer of 1653.

Margaret, born in 1646, made her home with her sister Elizabeth at Wenham about 1659, married John Corwin, of Salem, in May, 1665, and had issue. Mr. Corwin died July 12, 1683, in his forty-fifth year. "He was cut off in the midst of usefulness, and when his prospect was fair for unusual eminence." She died in November, 1711, and was buried in the Winthrop tomb in the King's Chapel Burying-ground, December 3, 1711.[43]

Martha, born in the summer of 1648,[44] married Richard Wharton, of Boston, about 1678, and had issue. Mr. Wharton was a man of more or less means, a large owner of land in Maine, and to a certain extent a promoter. In 1686 he was a member of Dudley's Council, and was continued in that office under Andros. But Wharton was strongly opposed to the new régime, and went to England in July, 1687. There he collaborated with Increase Mather in an effort to have the old Charter restored. He died in London, May 14, 1689, leaving his estate "much entangled." She died September 27, 1712.

Anne, born probably between 1649 and 1653, married John Richards of Boston, September 1, 1692, and died without issue. Mr. Richards was a wealthy merchant. From 1669 to 1682 he was the treasurer of Harvard College. In 1680 he was Speaker of the House, Assistant in the years 1680–86, and Agent in England in 1683. He died suddenly April 2, 1694. She died June 27, 1704, and was buried "in her husband's tomb at the North Burying-place."

A son (name unknown), who died in 1654.[45]

References

1. *Winthrop Papers*, I. 91. According to the calendar then used in England, he was born on February 12, 1605.
2. *Ibid.*, I. 385, 387.
3. Robert C. Winthrop, *Life and Letters of John Winthrop*, II. 77–78.
4. *Ibid.*, II. 71. The original marriage license is preserved in the Winthrop Manuscripts (Massachusetts Historical Society), 88. 26.
5. American Antiquarian Society *Proceedings*, L (1940), 82–83; *Winthrop Papers*, III. 35–37.
6. *Winthrop Papers*, III. 134.
7. Thomas Franklin Waters, *A Sketch of the Life of John Winthrop the Younger*, 9. (This sketch constitutes volume VII of the *Publications* of the Ipswich Historical Society.)
8. John Winthrop, *History of New England* (1853), I. 205–206.
9. Benjamin Trumbull, *Complete History of Connecticut* (1818), I. 497.
10. *New England Historical and Genealogical Register*, XIV. 320. John and Elizabeth were married in London on July 6, 1635. *Ibid.*, LXXXVIII (1934), 301.
11. *Winthrop Papers*, III. 216–217.
12. *Isis*, XI. 325–241.
13. *Winthrop Papers*, II. 193.
14. Samuel Eliot Morison, *Builders of the Bay Colony*, 274–275.
15. *Winthrop Papers*, IV. 341–342.
16. American Antiquarian Society *Proceedings*, New Series, XIV. 471–479. In 1899, Robert C. Winthrop, Jr., gave the American Antiquarian Society a large collection of documents, including several maps, relating to the Tantiusques property, 1644–1776. There are others in volume 9 of the Winthrop Manuscripts of the Massachusetts Historical Society.
17. *Winthrop Papers*, IV. 416. The original document is in the Winthrop Manuscripts (Massachusetts Historical Society), 88. 30.
18. *New England Quarterly*, XIII (1940), 494–510.
19. Frances Manwaring Caulkins, *History of New London*, 47; Winthrop Manuscripts (Massachusetts Historical Society), 7A. 65; 14. 70.
20. Massachusetts Historical Society *Collections*, Fifth Series, I. 368, 370. In 1648 William Berkeley urged Winthrop to go to Bermuda (Winthrop Manuscripts, Massachusetts Historical Society, 10. 136, 137); about a year later Edward Elmer seems to have recommended his getting a plantation on Delaware Bay (*ibid.*, 13. 30).

21. *Literary Diary of Ezra Stiles*, edited by Franklin Bowditch Dexter, III. 266.
22. Massachusetts Historical Society *Collections*, Fourth Series, VII. 470, 474.
23. *New Haven Town Records, 1649–1662*, edited by Franklin Bowditch Dexter, 241, 319. See also Leonard Bacon, *Thirteen Historical Discourses*, 326.
24. Massachusetts Historical Society *Collections*, Third Series, X. 12.
25. Massachusetts Historical Society *Collections*, Fourth Series, VII. 73.
26. Massachusetts Historical Society *Collections*, Fourth Series, VII. 549.
27. Winthrop Manuscripts (Massachusetts Historical Society), 9A. 33, and 9. 63.
28. Massachusetts Historical Society *Collections*, Fifth Series, I. 394.
29. Edward Elias Atwater, *History of the Colony of New Haven*, 461.
30. Massachusetts Historical Society *Collections*, Third Series, X. 5.
31. Thomas Birch, *History of the Royal Society of London*, I, *passim.*
32. Oliver Wendell Holmes, in *Lectures Delivered in a Course before the Lowell Institute in Boston, by Members of the Massachusetts Historical Society, on Subjects Relating to the Early History of Massachusetts*, 273–276. Among the Winthrop Manuscripts (Massachusetts Historical Society) are two volumes of medical records made by John Winthrop, Jr.
33. John Romeyn Brodhead, *History of the State of New York*, II. 29; Massachusetts Historical Society *Collections*, Fourth Series, VI. 527–529.
34. Massachusetts Historical Society *Collections*, Fifth Series, VIII. 134; Benjamin Trumbull, *Complete History of Connecticut* (1818), I. 316–317.
35. Massachusetts Historical Society *Proceedings*, XVI (1878), 206–251.
36. *Ibid.*, XVI (1878), 220–222; Second Series, IV (1887–89), 264–267.
37. *Public Records of the Colony of Connecticut*, II. 145*n.*; Benjamin Trumbull, *Complete History of Connecticut*, I. 321.
38. Massachusetts Historical Society *Proceedings*, XIII (1873–75), 250; Massachusetts Historical Society *Collections*, Fourth Series, VI. 299.
39. Massachusetts Historical Society *Collections*, Fifth Series, V. 12.
40. His will is printed in Thomas Franklin Waters, *A Sketch of the Life of John Winthrop the Younger*, 73–74.
41. Ebenezer Hazard, *Historical Collections*, II. 400.
42. *New England Historical and Genealogical Register*, LXV (1911), 379.
43. In Robert C. Winthrop, Jr.'s *Pedigree of the Family of Winthrop*, 27, the date of her death is given as "28 Sept. 1697," but entries in Judge Sewall's Diary (Massachusetts Historical Society *Collections*, Fifth Series, VI. 327–328) make it clear that she died in November, 1711. Sewall's Diary was not in print at the time Mr. Winthrop wrote the *Pedigree*.
44. For the approximate time of Martha Winthrop's birth, see Winthrop Manuscripts (Massachusetts Historical Society), 7A. 68. For this reference, as well as for many emendations and bits of additional information concerning the Second Generation, I am greatly indebted to the vigilance and generosity of Miss Eleanor Bates.
45. For evidence of the existence and death of this son, see Massachusetts Historical Society *Collections*, Fourth Series, VII. 129–130; Third Series, X. 1, 4; and Winthrop Manuscripts (Massachusetts Historical Society), 17. 95.

HENRY[2] WINTHROP (*John*[1]) was born on January 10, 1608, and was christened at Groton ten days later. He may have been named for Henry Sands, preacher at Boxford, who was one of his godfathers.[1] At the age of six he fell heir to the "free messuages, lands, etc." of his grandfather John Forth in the parishes of Rocheford, Little Stambridge, Hurwell, and Assingdon, in the County of Essex; he was to come into this property when he was twenty.[2] One of our first glimpses of Henry occurs when he was a youngster of thirteen and is, perhaps, symbolic of his brief, exciting life. While he and his father were riding through Boxford "with Mr. Gurdon in his coach," the coachman was thrown off and the horses "ran through the town over logs and high stumps until they came upon the causeway right against the church." According to Henry's father, the coach was "broken in pieces, —top, bottom, and sides"; but apparently no one was seriously injured.[3]

Henry grew up at Groton and in London, and at nineteen he crossed the Atlantic to Barbados, in the West Indies, where he hoped to create a fortune for himself as a tobacco planter. Barbados was then a brand-new British colony, having been acquired only two years earlier. Even after Henry Winthrop and those who came out with him arrived, there were only about sixty English inhabitants plus forty negro and Indian slaves. Nevertheless, Henry liked the place and pronounced it "the pleasantest island in all the West Indies." The company of London merchants who were interested in developing Barbados paid him £100 a year, and there were remunerative opportunities on the side. He became a tobacco planter and was elected one of the Assistants in the local government. The future looked rosy, as it always did to Henry Winthrop. If his father would only advance him some money and send out some sturdy young fellows to work in the fields, everything would be lovely.[4]

John Winthrop could not take quite that view of the situation. He found it difficult to persuade young men to go out to Barbados; he had already advanced Henry so much money that he himself was distinctly short of funds; and he knew that Henry was a financial visionary and a spendthrift. Towards the end of January, 1629, he wrote his son a pretty stiff letter, in which he told him that he was tired of paying his debts; and as for the tobacco Henry had sent over to England, it was such poor stuff that no one would buy it,— not even the near relatives. Unless he showed better judgment, he would surely come to grief.[5]

While this letter was on its way to Barbados, Henry was on his way to England. What moved him to come back, we do not know; but we do know what happened after he reached London. Instead of staying with the family at Groton, he made himself very much at home at the house of an uncle, Thomas Fones, in London, who took him in for his father's sake and to keep him out of riotous company. As it turned out, however, the house was soon overrun by Henry's boisterous friends, including a Papist, and his uncle complained that he felt as if he were living at an inn. Henry bought himself a scarlet suit and cloak, borrowed money right and left, and capped it all by announcing that he was going to marry one of the young ladies of the household, his own cousin, Elizabeth Fones; when his uncle remonstrated with them, the young people gave him to understand that they had already gone so far that it would not do to call off their engagement.[6] This was more than his Uncle Fones could bear; he died with a broken heart—if not of it—shortly after he heard the news. Ten days later Henry and Elizabeth were married and betook themselves to Groton Manor for a long visit with the groom's family.

While Henry was at Groton, his father had to be in London for a few weeks on business. But even when he was in the metropolis John Winthrop had this gay son on his mind. In a letter to Mrs. Winthrop (Henry's stepmother) he asked her to keep him at home as much as she could and to try to prevent him from going to Hadleigh, the nearest large village.[7] During the summer Henry became interested in the proposed migration of the Massachusetts Bay Company to New England. At first he talked of a hasty round-trip to Barbados to wind up his affairs there before going to Massachusetts Bay. But his father and his brother John dissuaded him from that unnecessary outlay of time and money.

Toward the end of March, 1630, Henry was on the *Arbella* which was about to sail for New England; but going ashore to get some additional livestock, he missed the boat and had to follow on another vessel.[8] He reached Salem several days after his father. On July 2, 1630, which is said to have been his second day on land, he and some companions did a little exploring and chanced to spy an Indian canoe on the opposite bank of a river. Quite naturally they wanted to examine the strange craft; but to reach it by land was a long way round, and the weather was hot. As Henry was the only one in the party who could swim, he volunteered to cross the river and save them

all a tedious trip on foot. Stripping off his clothes, he plunged in and swam out into the middle of the stream. There he was seized with cramps and went down. Those standing on the shore had no means of going to his assistance. So died Henry Winthrop, in his twenty-third year.[9]

Wayward, irresponsible, and inconsiderate though he may have been, one cannot help feeling that Henry was, nevertheless, a rather attractive young man. Governor Winthrop had no illusions about him; yet when he sent word home about his tragic end, he was not far from tears. "My son Henry, my son Henry," he wrote, "ah, poor child."[10]

Henry's widow came to New England before long, bringing with her their infant daughter, Martha Johanna. They arrived in Boston in November, 1631, and at some time prior to January 27, 1632, the widow married Robert Feake, a prominent citizen of Watertown and later a joint owner of Greenwich, Connecticut. About 1640 she moved to Greenwich; Mr. Feake lost his mind, and a few years later she and William Hallett of that town announced their marriage.[11]

Child:

Martha Johanna, born at Groton, England, May 9, 1630. She came to New England with her mother in 1631, grew up in Watertown, Massachusetts, and Greenwich, Connecticut, and married (not later than 1647) Thomas Lyon of Stamford, Connecticut. He became a Quaker. They had one surviving child, Mary. The Lyons seem to have been happily married, but lack of money and her ill health combined to give them a rather hard life. Martha Johanna Winthrop Lyon is supposed to have died before 1654.[12]

References

1. *Winthrop Papers*, I. 175, 97. According to the calendar then used in England, the year was 1607 until March 25. Under the New Style, Henry was born in 1608.
2. *Ibid.*, I. 173.
3. *Ibid.*, I. 237.
4. *Ibid.*, I. 345, 356, 361, 382, 405, 414.
5. *Ibid.*, II. 66–68.
6. *Ibid.*, II. 78–79.
7. *Ibid.*, II. 84, 101.
8. *Ibid.*, II. 244.
9. *Ibid.*, II. 265. The details are from Winthrop Manuscripts (Massachusetts Historical Society), 9A. 39–40, which is not a contemporaneous account; it appears to be the family tradition as set down by John Winthrop, F.R.S., early in the eighteenth century. See also William Hubbard, *General History of New England* (1848), 131.

10. *Winthrop Papers*, II. 302.

11. Massachusetts Historical Society *Proceedings*, Second Series, VI (1890–91), 2–5, 11–13; see also Colonial Society of Massachusetts *Publications*, XXVII. 193.

12. Massachusetts Historical Society *Proceedings*, Second Series, VI. 4–10, 14–16.

FORTH[2] WINTHROP (*John*[1]) was born at Stambridge, in Essex, December 30, 1609, and was named for his mother's family. His Grandfather Forth provided for him in his will, leaving him all his "messuages, lands, and tenements" in the parishes of Hadleigh, Layham, and Royden, in the county of Suffolk.[1]

After going to the grammar school at Bury St. Edmunds, Forth studied at Emmanuel College, Cambridge, long enough to acquire a number of Latin phrases which he enjoyed using in his correspondence but not long enough to acquire a degree. There were times when his father thought it would be just as well if Forth dropped out of the University, unless he really intended to go into the ministry. At nineteen he fell in love with Ursula Sherman, whose mother was more or less connected with the Winthrop family. (She was Governor Winthrop's brother-in-law's second wife![2]) Though not related, the young people referred to each other as "cousin"; and Ursula's mother addressed Governor Winthrop as "my dear brother."

Early in 1630 Ursula moved to Exeter, and Forth spent more or less time there in the spring and summer of that year. They planned to be married, and to emigrate to New England soon thereafter; but Forth fell ill in the autumn of 1630 and died at Groton, where he was buried on November 23.[3] This was the second son Governor and Mrs. Winthrop had lost within a few months. He appears to have been affectionate, dutiful, and more than ready to do his part in the business of getting things ready for the removal of the family to Massachusetts-Bay.

The one or two letters from Ursula that have come down to us make it clear that she was blessed with unusual felicity in expressing herself on paper. When John Winthrop, Jr., notified her that, as a result of Forth's death, some money would be returned to the donors and not given to her, she assured him, "Yet shall I never think my love ill settled upon one that loved me so dearly, though he could leave me nothing but his prayers for me and the interest I have in your love, whose kindness is so clearly manifested, like

the kindness of Ruth, to the living and to the dead."[4] One likes to believe that Ursula was as beautiful as she was affectionate and understanding.

References

1. *Winthrop Papers*, I. 103, 173.
2. Joseph James Muskett, *Suffolk Manorial Families*, I. 87.
3. Massachusetts Historical Society *Collections*, Third Series, VIII. 297.
4. *Winthrop Papers*, III. 39.

STEPHEN WINTHROP[2] (*John*[1]) was born March 24, 1619,—presumably at Groton Manor, for he was baptized in the local church on March 31. He was Margaret Tyndal Winthrop's first child, and his mother was "above 40 hours in sore travail, so as it began to be doubtful of her life." In fact, for ten days after his birth it was a question whether she would long survive the ordeal, which happily she did and lived to bring seven more Winthrops into the world. Stephen was named for his mother's uncle Stephen Egerton, who was one of his godfathers.[1]

When he was two and a half years old Stephen fell into the fire; but, according to his Grandfather Winthrop, he "had no hurt."[2] He seems to have had a normal, happy boyhood at Groton, and in the course of time we catch a glimpse of him on his way up to London with his father. Stephen was then approaching his eleventh birthday, and in a letter to Mrs. Winthrop the Governor described him as "a lusty traveler." He needed to be all of that, for from London he was to go to Southampton, and thence on the *Arbella* to Massachusetts-Bay.

Growing up in the intense Puritan atmosphere of Boston in New England, Stephen suffered from introspection much as his father had before him. When he was fourteen years old, "Satan buffeted him" with various temptations and "blasphemous and wicked thoughts" until the poor boy became bewildered, unhappy, and languid. However, with the aid of prayer and counsel, he finally got the better of these afflictions and was transformed into a trustful, uncomplaining servant of the Lord. This religious experience made him eligible for membership in the Boston church, and he was admitted on March 16, 1634, just a few days before his fifteenth birthday.[3]

In the spring of 1636 Stephen spent a number of weeks at Saybrook,

Connecticut, visiting his enterprising half brother John and doing more or less trading with the Indians. Two years later he was in England renewing his acquaintance with various uncles and aunts and arranging sundry matters for his mother, which seems to have been the principal object of this trip. Presumably Stephen returned to New England in the summer of 1638 in company with his Uncle and Aunt Downing, arriving early in October. At any rate, before winter he had become a merchant in Boston and early in January he set out on a trading voyage to Bermuda. The ship was the *Sparrow*, of Boston,—William Goose, of Salem, master![4] Both on her way out and on her way back she touched at New Haven, where Stephen paid his respects to the Davenport and Eaton families, recently of Boston. A few months after his return the General Court presented him with a new vocation; under September 9, 1639, is an entry "Mr. Steven Winthrope was chosen to record things." His duties under this general statement are defined by a contemporary, Thomas Lechford, who tells us: "Master Stephen Winthrop is Recorder, whose office is to record all Judgments, Mariages, Births, Deaths, Wills and Testaments, Bargaines and Sales, Gifts, Grants, and Mortgages." This sounds like a large order, and apparently Stephen found it so; for in October, 1640, the General Court made separate provision for the registering of deeds at Ipswich and Salem, "all the rest to bee entered by Mr. Stephen Winthrope, the recorder at Boston." In 1641 he joined "the Military Company of the Massachusetts" (now known as the Ancient and Honorable Artillery Company), and one thing led to another until, in the spring of 1644, he found himself sitting as a regular member of the General Court. He represented Strawberry Bank (Portsmouth, New Hampshire), which had recently come under the jurisdiction of the Bay Colony.

Stephen was now twenty-five years old, a married man, and evidently well established; yet he was moved to cross the Atlantic again, and in the winter of 1644–45 he was in London where an unpleasant surprise awaited him. Alderman Berkeley, being displeased with the decision of a special court recently held in Massachusetts-Bay, had him arrested and held as a sort of hostage. Stephen's sole offense seems to have been that he was the clerk of the court that had injured the Alderman's feelings and pocketbook. But Berkeley insisted that Winthrop and a Captain Joseph Weld, who had been a member of the jury, must produce sureties to the amount of £4000 "to answer him in the court of admiralty."[5] He meant business, and Stephen

Stephen Winthrop

Winthrop was very much in need of assistance. One of the influential persons who came to his rescue was young Sir Henry Vane. Largely through his exertions the Alderman's efforts were frustrated, but the episode was both disturbing and expensive. Stephen tried to persuade the General Court of Massachusetts-Bay to reimburse him for the unexpected outlay which his association with it had made necessary; but the Court was adamant, as far as any financial grant in his behalf was concerned.

During the summer and early autumn of 1645 Stephen was in New England again. Apparently he intended to remain here, for in June he bought of Robert Saltonstall a farm of about fifteen hundred acres in Lynnfield and Peabody. It was called "the pond farm" because it included the body of water now known as Suntaug Lake. It was a fine piece of property and Stephen held it as long as he lived, but it is unlikely that he ever made his home there.[6] In the autumn of 1645 or the winter of 1646 he returned to England, and was accompanied as far as Teneriffe by his young brother Samuel. This was Stephen's sixth transatlantic voyage, and it turned out to be his last. After a troublous year in England he was more than ready to come home, but his creditors would not allow him to leave the realm. His business ventures had not gone well, and Alderman Berkeley continued to create difficulties for him. Stephen accepted all this as the will of God; and since he could not go to New England, he sent word to his wife to come to England. While waiting for her to come over, he spent more or less time with her brother, Colonel William Rainsborow, who had lived in Massachusetts but was now governor of Worcester, England. Partly because he believed in the cause and partly because it would provide him with a living, he joined Cromwell's army and was made "captain of a troop of horse" in Colonel Thomas Harrison's cavalry regiment.[7] In the summer of 1648 he was fighting the Scots in the north of England and across the border. In September he was back in London, where he and his wife bore with Puritan fortitude the loss of their two children who had recently died of smallpox there. A few months earlier, when Deal Castle was surprised by the Royalists, she and "all their children" had fled from Deal to Harwich, "and so to Ipswich, and then to London, for fear of Goring's army."

Though born in Britain and devoted to her welfare, Stephen was at heart a New Englander. "I expect not to settle in England," he wrote in 1650, "but to return amongst you when I may not be burdensome, but rather

helpful." The English climate did not agree with him: "the air is too moist for me and breeds rheums and coughs." And his "much lying in wet fields upon the ground" during military campaigns had left him with "the zeatica," from which he tried to obtain relief at Bath. Stephen Winthrop was never one to complain, but his letters make it clear that he was often homesick for Massachusetts and for his friends and relatives there. Even as late as March, 1655, he wrote, "I do not give over thoughts of N. E.," though he admitted that his memory of our winters did not encourage him to come back here.[8]

In London he lived in James Street, Westminster; but he had to make frequent and fatiguing trips to Scotland. About 1654 he became a colonel, and in 1656 he represented Banff and Aberdeen in Parliament. Worn down by recurring periods of ill health, Colonel Winthrop, not yet forty years old, died in the summer of 1658 and was buried at Groton with his ancestors. He had made his will on May 3 of that year; it was probated in London on August 19.

From his mother Stephen inherited a considerable share of her property in England; his father deeded to him the Winthrop homestead in Boston, part of which is now the site of the Old South Meeting-house, and half of Prudence Island in Narragansett Bay. Though he spent little time in Massachusetts after he was twenty-five, Stephen Winthrop did not forget the town of his boyhood: in his will he left £100 for the benefit of the poor of Boston, on condition that the town would erect a tomb or monument of at least £50 value over the graves of his father and mother.[9]

Stephen's record speaks for itself. He was a fine type of Puritan, who lived on intimate terms with his God and dedicated his life to the advancement of His cause. Though intense, he was far from intolerant. Writing from London in 1645, he commented unfavorably on the stern measures Massachusetts had used in dealing with Baptists: "It doth discourage any people from coming to us for fear they should be banished if they dissent from us in opinion."[10] Nine years later Roger Williams described him as being "eminent for maintaining the Freedome of the Conscience as to matters of Beliefe, Religion and Worship."[11]

Among the Winthrop family portraits is one of a young man who is supposed to have been this Stephen. The original is in the possession of Robert Winthrop. There is a copy at the Massachusetts Historical Society.

Stephen Winthrop married Judith Rainsborow, presumably of Boston in New England.

Children:

Stephen, born in Boston, Massachusetts, November 7, 1644, died of smallpox in London in August, 1648.[12]

John, born in Boston, Massachusetts, May 24, 1646, died of smallpox in London in August, 1648.[12]

Daughter (name unknown), born in 1650, probably died young.

Stephen, born at Groton, England, May 13, 1651, died young.

Margaret, born in England, married (1) Henry Ward of London, framework knitter, about January 29, 1676, and (2) Edmund Willie of London, mariner, July 16, 1685.

Joanna, born in England, died young.

Judith, born in England about 1656, married Richard Hancock of London, packer, in July, 1677.

Son (name unknown), born early in 1657, died before May, 1658.

References

1. *Winthrop Papers*, I. 235, 256; Massachusetts Historical Society *Collections*, Third Series, VIII. 296.
2. *Winthrop Papers*, I. 259.
3. John Winthrop, *History of New England* (1853), I. 149–150; *Memorial History of Boston*, edited by Justin Winsor, I. 568.
4. *Transactions and Collections of the American Antiquarian Society*, VII. 46.
5. John Winthrop, *History of New England* (1853), II. 304. Additional material may be found in *Proceedings and Debates of the British Parliaments respecting North America* (edited by Leo Francis Stock), I. 160–167; and Massachusetts Historical Society *Collections*, Third Series, VII. 105–106.
6. *Essex Institute Historical Collections*, LI (1915), 36, 37.
7. Massachusetts Historical Society *Proceedings*, Second Series, XI. 6.
8. Massachusetts Historical Society *Collections*, Fifth Series, VIII. 199–218. See also Massachusetts Historical Society *Proceedings*, Second Series, XII. 203–211.
9. *New England Historical and Genealogical Register*, XL. 161–162.
10. Massachusetts Historical Society *Collections*, Fifth Series, VIII. 200.
11. Massachusetts Historical Society *Collections*, Third Series, X. 1–2.
12. *New England Historical and Genealogical Register*, LXIX (1915), 188. The burial record refers to the father as "Steven Wintropp of Ratcliff, gent." Ratcliff was a village on the Thames, about two miles east by south of St. Paul's, London.

ADAM[2] WINTHROP (*John*[1]) was born at Groton, England, April 7, 1620, about one o'clock in the morning, and was named for his Grandfather Winthrop, who was one of his godfathers. Apparently everything the infant Adam did was important in the eyes of his grandfather, for in his almanac for 1621 the old gentleman recorded under May 7, "Adam Winthrop was weaned."[1] His father, too, went out of his way to jot down some of young Adam's childhood ills and narrow escapes. When he was about four, he had "a sore ague"; when he was eight, an arrow shot by his half brother Forth missed him by a hair's breadth. He and Stephen and their cousin Ben Gostlin were standing near the stable door at Groton, while Forth was shooting at a mark with his bow and arrow. Although the mark was "a great way from them, his arrow came full among them." Their father, who was looking on, was sure that the arrow would hit Adam in his side, "but it pleased God it missed him a very little and struck into the wall by him."[2] Life at Groton was never dull, either for the boys or for their parents.

A few days before his tenth birthday Adam was on the *Arbella* with his father and Stephen, and on his way to New England. He seems to have been a companionable little fellow and one who liked to go about with his father. For instance, one day in January, 1632, Governor Winthrop "and some company with him" explored the Charles River for about eight miles above Watertown. As they went along, they named various landmarks some of which have retained those names ever since. Not far from the foot of Prospect Hill in Waltham "they went to a great rock, upon which stood a high stone, cleft in sunder, that four men might go through, which they called Adam's Chair, because the youngest of their company was Adam Winthrop."[3] Could anything have pleased an eleven-year-old boy more! When the present writer was about Adam Winthrop's age, he visited "Adam's Chair" more than once, and he remembers clearly that strange rock formation. It is well described by E. G. Chamberlain in *Appalachia*, XIII. 142: "Adam's Chair is a boulder about four feet high, split in halves, which are separated about eight feet and make the arms of the chair. It sits on the brow of the hill, which is here a flat ledge with a vertical front of about three feet forming the seat of the chair. It is in the dooryard of Dr. Baker, only a few feet from his residence, and overlooks South Street, from which it may be seen at a point a good quarter-mile north of Roberts depot."

Like almost everyone else, Adam was devoted to his much older half

brother, John Winthrop, Jr., and he wrote him a good many letters which enable us to follow the course of his life. In 1642 he married Elizabeth Glover, the eldest daughter of the Reverend Jose Glover who brought out from England the first printing press set up in any of the British-American colonies. Relatively speaking she was a newcomer, for Glover did not leave England (he died on the way over) until 1638. But the Glovers soon made their presence known. The widow bought Governor Haynes's house in Cambridge, near the intersection of Mount Auburn and Boylston Streets, lived in the grand manner, and before long married President Dunster.[4] Presumably, then, Adam Winthrop did much of his courting in Cambridge, and in that part of the town which now includes Winthrop House and Winthrop Street. Either at majority or at marriage Elizabeth was to come into £400 left her by her father.[5]

Elizabeth Glover Winthrop died on September 14, 1648. "She died at the garden," wrote Governor Winthrop, meaning that she died on what we call Governor's Island in Boston Harbor. This island had been a sort of wedding present to Adam from his father, who usually referred to it as "the Governor's Garden" or simply "the garden." It was, until recently, one of the most attractive features of the harbor,—high and green, and not more than two miles from town. Adam Winthrop and his family spent the summer months there, cooled by the breezes that came across the water and pleasantly occupied with the boats, the orchard, and the other accessories of the farm. When, in 1642, the property was deeded to President Dunster and Captain George Cooke for the use of Adam and Elizabeth (with remainder to Adam and his heirs), Governor Winthrop and his wife reserved for their own use one third of "all such apples, pears, grapes, plums as shall be yearly growing upon the said Island."[6] Most of the island remained in the Winthrop family until 1833, when it was taken over by the United States government,—which built Fort Winthrop thereon.

For his second wife Adam Winthrop chose Mrs. Elizabeth (Hawkins) Long, one of the daughters of Captain Thomas Hawkins, a prosperous shipwright of Boston. When he married her, on May 7, 1649, she was "the late wife of Nathaniel Long."[7] They made their home next door to her parents, near the foot of Clark Street, in the North End. In the spring of 1650 Adam was appointed one of a committee of three to lay out highways in his part of town. Among his many friends was Robert Saltonstall, a younger

son of Sir Richard. When Saltonstall died, in the summer of 1650, he bequeathed to Adam "the black beaver hat I am to receive from Captain Keayne."

Adam died rather suddenly on August 24, 1652, when he was only in his thirty-third year. A few days later his Uncle Emanuel Downing wrote John Winthrop, Jr.: "Yesterday your brother Adam Winthrop was buried, who died the third day before, having lain sick five or six days, but in such manner as neither himself nor any friend about him suspected his death scarce half an hour before he departed, who neither made will nor gave any word of directions concerning his estate though in perfect memory, and wise men about him, he dying in the Elders arms. His wife and others your near relations here do earnestly entreat your speedy repair hither because the ordering of the business about his wife, child, and the rest is referred to your coming."[8] In 1654 his widow married John Richards.

A Bible that once belonged to Adam Winthrop is preserved in the library of the Massachusetts Historical Society. This Bible belonged originally to his Grandfather Winthrop; then to Governor Winthrop, who brought it to New England in the *Arbella*; then to Adam and his descendants until 1825. After that it went out of the family for a few years, but ultimately came into the possession of Robert C. Winthrop.

Child by his first wife, Elizabeth Glover:

ADAM, born at Boston, October 15, 1647. See p. 111.

References

1. *Winthrop Papers*, I. 237, 244, 256.
2. *Ibid.*, I. 311, 405.
3. John Winthrop, *History of New England* (1853), I. 82.
4. Samuel Eliot Morison, *The Founding of Harvard College*, 256.
5. *New England Historical and Genealogical Register*, XXIII. 136.
6. *Suffolk Deeds*, I. 25.
7. *Aspinwall Notarial Records*, 225.
8. Massachusetts Historical Society *Collections*, Fourth Series, VI. 79.

DEANE[2] WINTHROP (*John*[1]) was born at Groton, England, March 16, 1623, and was baptized there one week later. He was named for his

mother's half-brother, Sir John Deane. Although Deane Winthrop outlived all the other children of Governor Winthrop, his childhood gave little promise of longevity. At the time of his second birthday he was "very ill of an ague"; before he was five he had had smallpox—but apparently a light case; he was hardly over that when he "fell backward from a high stool and pitched upon his head, so we feared his neck had been broke; but," his father added, "through God's mercy, he had no harm."[1] Deane did not come to New England with his father in 1630, nor with his mother in the following year. He was left behind at school until 1635, when his half-brother John, Jr., who had gone back to England on business, brought him over in the *Abigail*.[2] Six years later he went to sea, but liked it so little that he had himself set ashore at "Maligo" [Malaga], made a bee line for England, and thence to Massachusetts-Bay.[3] This was his last visit to England and his last crossing of the ocean. He preferred *terra firma*, especially the New England variety.

Like almost everybody else, Deane Winthrop enjoyed being wherever his fascinating half-brother John might be, and it is not surprising to find that he accompanied him and part of his family when they migrated from Massachusetts to Fisher's Island, near New London, in the autumn of 1646. How long he remained with them is a question, but we know that he had returned to Boston before the following June.

At twenty Deane was in love with a young lady of Salem, but "upon her manifestation that she could not set her affections upon him" he gave up hope of winning her. At least that is what he told his Aunt Lucy Downing, who "did eye it [his rejection] as a thing from Providence."[4] At twenty-one he was a member of the Artillery Company, and before he was twenty-five he had married Sarah Glover, whose sister Elizabeth was the wife of his brother Adam. Sarah, like her sister, was an heiress to the extent of £400 left her by her father. In November, 1647, Governor Winthrop deeded to Deane his farm at Pullen Point,[5] which is now the southeastern part of the town of Winthrop. This property contained about 200 acres and was very pleasantly situated, bordered on the east by the open ocean and on the west by the quieter waters of Boston Harbor. Here lived Deane Winthrop for more than a half-century, though not always in the same house. At first he established himself towards the Point Shirley end of the farm, and there, Judge Sewall tells us, he "was wont to set up a bush [signal] when he saw a

ship coming in." Later on he occupied the house that has borne his name for almost three centuries and is still a well-preserved landmark on Shirley Street. There is a drawing of it in Justin Winsor's *Memorial History of Boston*, I. 447, and a photograph of it in Mellen Chamberlain's *History of Chelsea*, I. 121.

Pullen or Pulling Point was so named either because it was a struggle to row against the tide that ran between it and Deer Island or because the early settlers preferred to go ashore there and haul their boats rather than row against the strong current. A somewhat similar promontory in Portsmouth, New Hampshire, is called Pull-and-be-damned Point. Like most successful farmers, Deane Winthrop added to his holdings now and then until he had about three hundred acres.

Land and the acquisition of it always appealed to Deane. Before his father transferred the Pulling Point property to him, he and his brother Adam had bought of Robert Saltonstall a tract of a thousand acres bordering on Cochituate Pond, about seventeen miles west of Boston.[6] Eight years later, in 1655, he and some associates became interested in the fertile valley of the Nashua River, which was then on or just beyond the northwestern frontier of the Bay Colony, and they petitioned the General Court for a susbstantial portion thereof. It so happened that another group, who lived in Concord, made a similar request about the same time, and the General Court avoided a difficult decision by granting the proposed plantation to both sets of applicants. This it did in the spring of 1655, giving them a tract eight miles square and stipulating that henceforth it should be called Groton. As Deane Winthrop headed one of the groups and as he was born in Groton, England, it is not unreasonable to assume that he suggested the name which was chosen by the General Court. As soon as the town was laid out it was to be administered by a Board of Selectmen; and the General Court appointed the first board, which was to have charge of the town's affairs for two years. The first name on the list of appointees is Deane Winthrop. Yet it seems unlikely that he was ever a resident of Groton, Massachusetts; he was too well established at Pulling Point to be attracted by the banks of the Nashua River except as a speculation or investment. It is true, however, that in a petition signed by him and others in May, 1656, the signatories described themselves as "intended Inhabitants of Groton." From his father he had inherited a claim to some land in the interior, and in the

autumn of 1656 the General Court satisfied this by granting him a thousand acres "to take it where he can find it free from former grants, and not hindering a plantation." Half of this he seems to have found and had laid out in the eastern part of the present town of Holliston, between the Sherborn line and Lake Winthrop.[7]

Why Deane Winthrop should ever have considered living anywhere except on beautiful Pulling Point is a mystery. Perhaps he never did so at all seriously, but in December, 1662, he wrote his half brother John, governor of Connecticut: "I have some thoughts of removing from the place that I now live in into your Colony, if I could light of a convenient place. The place that I now live in is too little for me,—my children now growing up." It is possible that he merely wished to let John know that he was open-minded about acquiring more land in Connecticut. He already had a sizable tract there.

Having outlived all his brothers and sisters and all his children, Deane Winthrop died at Pulling Point on the morning of his eighty-first birthday, March 16, 1704, about dawn. Judge Sewall recorded in his Diary the details of his last illness, which was fortunately very brief. When he was buried, four days later, Sewall was one of the bearers. His grave is at Revere, where the stone may still be seen. His Pulling Point estate was appraised at £1166, one shilling,—£1000 of which represented the land and buildings. One hundred and seventy-four sheep and lambs constituted the greater part of his livestock. Other items included "one Negro man, by name Primas . . . £30" and "one Negro Woman, by name Marrear, & a boy, by name Robbin . . . £30." After the inventory was made, the executors added to it "Cash found in his chest," which amounted to £43 18*s*., and "a Quantity of vacant Land, some part lying on this side, & some on the other side of Merrimack River near Bilrica, being two Several Tracts." His will is printed in Mellen Chamberlain's *History of Chelsea*, I. 262–264.

Sometime prior to 1684 Deane's first wife died and he married Martha, widow of Captain John Mellows, mariner, of Boston, who survived him and died January 22, 1716. She is said to have been "a Kinswoman of Rev. John Cotton."[8]

Children, all by his first wife, Sarah Glover:

Deane, baptized June 15, 1651, died soon.

Deane, born September 6, 1653, baptized October 23, 1653, died young.

John, born probably in 1655, died young.

Sarah, born February 11, 1657, baptized May 24, 1657, died before 1703.

Margaret, born July 25, 1660, baptized September 2, 1660, married Jotham Grover and had issue.

Elizabeth, born July 9, 1663, baptized August 23, 1663, married Captain Samuel Kent.

Jose, born May 3, 1666, baptized June 10, 1666, died without issue on November 15, 1702. Wait Still Winthrop wrote Fitz-John Winthrop on November 18, 1702: "My poor uncle [Deane] has lost all his children: Cousin Jose and his other daughter, Hoffe, died of the small pox since my last to you. I am greatly troubled I have not been able to go to him; poor Jose sent for me and Cousin Adam, but neither of us could go."[9]

Priscilla, born May 1, 1669, baptized May 16, 1669, married Eliab Adams and had issue.

Mercy, born January 18, 1673, married Atherton Hough July 11, 1699, and had issue. Under date of July 11, 1699, Judge Sewall wrote in his Diary:

> I went with Mr. Willard to Pulling-Point to Mr. Dean Winthrop's . . . Between one and two Mr. Willard married Atherton Haugh and Mercy Winthrop: Said, Mr. Atherton Haugh, Mrs. Mercy Winthrop; forbade all unlawful communion with other women and *vice versa*. Gave very good advice and exhortation; especially most solemnly charged them never to neglect family prayer. Between 3 and four Major General and Mr. Adam Winthrop came and many with them, when we had almost dined. Sang a psalm together, I set St. David's tune. . . .
>
> When Mr. Willard asked Mr. Winthrop's consent, he also complimented me respecting Atherton Haugh: I said I was glad that [he] had found so good a family and so good a wife. And after, when I saw the bridegroom and bride together after the wedding: I prayed God to bless them, and give them such an offspring wherein the names of Haugh and Winthrop might flourish.

Mercy died in the autumn of 1702.

References

1. Massachusetts Historical Society *Collections*, Third Series, VIII. 297; *Winthrop Papers*, I. 279, 320, 405.
2. *New England Historical and Genealogical Register*, XIV. 320.
3. *Winthrop Papers*, IV. 329–330.
4. *Ibid.*, IV. 439, 444.
5. *Suffolk Deeds*, I. 86.
6. *Records of Massachusetts Bay*, II. 189.
7. *Ibid.*, IV, Part I. 399.
8. *New England Historical and Genealogical Register*, LXXVI (1922), 198.
9. Massachusetts Historical Society *Collections*, Sixth Series, V. 117.

SAMUEL[2] WINTHROP (*John*[1]) was baptized at Groton, England, on August 26, 1627, and came to New England with his mother in the autumn of 1631.[1] His boyhood was spent in and around Boston and he received a good formal education. His letters show a trained mind and a cultivated style; he was almost as much at home in Latin as in English, and his occasional use of a Latin phrase never seems pedantic.[2] He came rightly by this erudition, for he was a member of the Class of 1646 at Harvard College and presumably received direct instruction from one whom he referred to rather affectionately as "my president, Mr. Dunster." At this point it should be added that Samuel was one of Harvard's earliest benefactors. In 1644 or 1645 he and a classmate and the two tutors (one of them being his cousin George Downing) bought three-quarters of an acre of land in what is now the College Yard and planted it with young apple trees. This they named *Pomarium Sociorum* or the Fellows' Orchard, and they intended that it should become a place of recreation for the teaching staff. There was a Fellows' Garden at Emmanuel College in Cambridge, England, in which the learned ones strolled and bowled; why shouldn't there be one at Harvard College in Cambridge in New England? It was a very happy use to make of the cow-yard that has since become the site of Widener Library.[3]

The College records yield little information about Samuel and his sojourn in Cambridge: about all we know is that a light of glass in his chamber window was replaced and that when he withdrew in the autumn of 1645, the charges for his room ceased on November 1. This date is useful because it helps to establish the time of his departure for England in that year.

Towards the end of 1645 his older brother Stephen was about to make one of his frequent trips to England; and although Samuel, now eighteen years old, was not far from a Bachelor's degree at Harvard, he decided to drop his studies and go with him. There may have been some connection between this decision and his father's recent financial reverses; or it may just have seemed a good opportunity for the boy to revisit his native land. Stephen would be a good, steady companion for him.

On their voyage across the Atlantic, which was long and rough, they stopped at Teneriffe, an important center of trade in the Canary Islands; and they had not been there very long when Samuel announced that he thought he would stay and go to work for an English merchant, who bore the incongruous name of Ferdinando Bodge. Stephen was somewhat taken

aback by the proposal, but the more he thought of it the better he liked it. The boy had got to make his way in the world, and here was a definite opening that might be as good as anything that might be found in London. Furthermore, Mr. Bodge was prosperous and reputed to be honest and religious. So it was settled that Samuel should remain at Teneriffe and work up in the business.[4] This he did for about two years and a half, then recrossed the ocean to Barbados, and did some trading there and at St. Christopher's. In the latter island he fell ill and almost died of a fever; and by trying to administer the affairs of a merchant who succumbed to the same malady, he became innocently involved in a number of disagreeable lawsuits. He made friends everywhere, but there were plenty of individuals who were more than ready to take advantage of this boy merchant who was not yet twenty-one.[5]

In 1648 he went to Holland, where he married a Dutch lady named Elizabeth, in June of that year. His hope then was to return to New England with his bride, if only for a visit.[6] Instead, however, he went back to the West Indies and spent the remainder of his life there. Part of the time he lived on the island of Antigua, part of the time on St. Christopher's. He appears to have been successful as a planter, and looked up to as a citizen.

In the autumn of 1666 the French descended on the island of Antigua, landed soldiers, burned several houses, and made havoc for three days. Then they called upon the inhabitants to surrender and take an oath of fealty to the King of France; the alternative was destruction by fire and sword. With the French on one side of them and a party of Carib Indians on the other, the British saw no hope in further resistance; and after parleying for a day or two they agreed to consider surrendering. One of the six men chosen to negotiate the treaty was "Captain Samuel Winthrop," whose house had been a rallying point for the British after the first onslaught by the French. He had shipped his family off to Nevis just in the nick of time. The terms were not bad and the English were about to sign when the negotiations were interrupted by "a party of Barbadian souldiers, inflamed with wine."

The French sailed away; but about two weeks later they returned and their commander had a conference with Samuel Winthrop and another of the original negotiators. This time the capitulation was completed. The leader of the French raised his flag over Winthrop's house and encamped his troops round about it. Most of the inhabitants were called together there

and were persuaded to take an oath of fealty to the King of France. According to Samuel, "All present, except four or five of those called Quakers, took the oath." (Quakers, of course, could not take an oath of any kind.) Meanwhile the Frenchman helped himself to twenty-four of Winthrop's slaves and destroyed most of his stock. After seven days of this sort of thing the conquerors got aboard their ships and departed. Within a year the island was restored to the British Empire by the Treaty of Breda; and the new British governor of the Leeward Islands, recognizing Samuel Winthrop as the leading citizen of Antigua, made him his right-hand man in the period of reconstruction. He was Deputy-Governor, 1667–1669; Register, 1669–1671; and President of the Council in 1670. He died about 1674, presumably at "Groton Hall," his plantation home in Antigua. Among his remote descendants was Lord Lyons, who was the British Minister to the United States in the difficult years 1858–1865.[7]

Samuel Winthrop had an affectionate nature and an unusually sweet disposition. He loved his parents and his brothers with a feeling so deep that neither time nor absence had any effect on it. He is well described by his cousin Margaret Heathcote, who spent some time in Antigua about 1665 and detested most of the people she found there: "Truely he is a deare and tender cozen to me, and I have much cause to praise God for him. He is a reall Winthrop and truely noble to all, but much more to my husband and selfe."[8]

His love for New England was much like that for his family, and the chronic disappointment of his life was that he never saw Massachusetts-Bay after he left it as a boy of eighteen. Time and again he thought he could see his way to returning there, but invariably and inexorably something arose to prevent his revisiting the land of his heart's desire. He did the next best thing by sending his oldest two sons there to get the benefit of New England schooling and environment. The details of this arrangement he left to the discretion of his half brother John. Though John was the governor of Connecticut, the boys seem to have been provided for in the Bay Colony and placed under the care of Deacon Ephraim Child, of Watertown, and Mr. David Evans, a merchant of Boston. When these gentlemen died in 1663, the youngsters' happiness and welfare devolved upon "Mother Child," and their father was content that it should be so. She had been his nurse in his tender years and he never outgrew his affection for her. He

knew that she would be a second mother to his boys. Apparently he intended that they should go to Harvard, for in 1664 he wrote: "I purpose to continue my sonnes still in New England, and I thinke by this time they may be fitt for the Colledge, and I shall give order for their goeing thither, and doe heartily request the President may receive your [John, Jr.,'s] recommends on their behalfe, which I know will be much to their advantage, for the well composed aspect of a President upon his pupills hath a greater influence than upon one person, for it reaches to all."[9] The meaning is not entirely clear, but the idea was probably good. Samuel had been at Harvard, and he knew whereof he spoke.

From beginning to end Samuel Winthrop was truly religious, but his belief underwent an interesting change. He started out as a Puritan and he ended as a Quaker. The transition was gradual but inevitable. Samuel was gentle and believed in being at peace with all men. He was also a thinker, and he found in the simple tenets of the Society of Friends a satisfying return to the teachings of Jesus, stripped of all dogma and form. There were a few Quakers in Antigua and in the course of time Samuel identified himself with them. As early as 1667 he used the pronouns *thou* and *thee* when writing to his half-brother John, but he made no attempt to convert his correspondent. He knew the man's breadth and his humane spirit, and it was no surprise to him to learn from others about his kindness to Friends in Connecticut. Their persecution elsewhere in New England led him to comment: "It is great wisdom to be cautious in these matters, lest a man be found to fight against God."[10] About 1672 Samuel visited George Fox, the greatest Quaker of them all, at Barbados, where perhaps a third of the inhabitants belonged to the Society of Friends.

The Massachusetts Historical Society has in its library a volume inscribed: Samuel Winthrop hunc librum jam tenet patris dono 1642. The title page reads as follows: Io Carionis Mathematici Bvetikheinensis Chronicorum Libri Tres, in Latinum Sermonem Conversi. Francoforti, 1555. The author, or editor, was Johann Carion (1499–1537), a mathematician born in Buetickheim, Germany. The volume also contains a motto inscribed and signed by Adam Winthrop, the father of Governor John Winthrop of Massachusetts-Bay.

Children:[11]

Henry, born at Rotterdam in 1649, was educated in New England. In or before

1677 he married Henrietta King, daughter of Captain William King. Henry was a captain of militia in Antigua, owned 240 acres in St. Peter's, and was living in 1710. He "became pecuniarily embarrassed and most of his land was sold." He had a son Samuel, born about 1692 and living in St. Mary's parish as late as 1767; also a daughter Mary, who married "William Lavington of Antigua, Gent."

Joseph, born before 1653, was educated in New England. He married Catherine ——, was a captain of militia in Antigua, owned "Cinnamon Valley" of 300 acres, and died in 1679 or 1680. They had a daughter Sarah, who is said to have married Colonel George Thomas.

Elizabeth, born before 1654 at St. Christopher's, married: (1) William Mildon of Bristol and Nevis, merchant, November 1, 1666; (2) Capt. Francis St. John, Secretary of Antigua, who died in 1670; (3) Colonel Rowland Williams, and had issue.

Sarah, born about 1655 at St. Christopher's, married: (1) Colonel Samuel Jones, before 1675; (2) Edward Byam, youngest son of General William Byam.

John, born before 1657 at St. Christopher's, died at Antigua in 1671. He was a twin with Samuel.

Samuel, born before 1657 at St. Christopher's, was a lieutenant in 1678 and died in 1691.[12] He is said to have married a daughter of Governor Philip Warner. Samuel's daughter Sarah married Colonel Henry Lyons of Antigua on August 24, 1690. They inherited the Winthrop plantation in New North Sound called "Groton Hall." Lord Lyons, the British Minister mentioned above, was descended from them.

Thomas, born in February, 1660, at St. Christopher's, died young.

Rebecca, born in Antigua, was less than sixteen years old in December, 1675. About 1679 she married Colonel Willoughby Byam.

Stephen was less than seventeen years old in December, 1675, and died young.

The parish register of St. Paul records the burial of a Mrs. Winthrope, on December 13, 1773; and that of St. John tells us that a Robert Winthorpe was buried on June 27, 1779. This Robert Winthorpe may have been a son of Samuel[4], the son of Henry[3], the eldest son of Samuel[2]. He left no issue, and appears to have been the last of the male Winthrops of Antigua.[13]

"Winthorpe's," of 231 acres, is in St. George's parish. Winthorpe's Bay and Winthorpe's Village adjoin it.

References

1. Massachusetts Historical Society *Collections*, Third Series, VIII. 297; John Winthrop, *History of New England* (1853), I. 80.

2. A number of his letters are printed in Massachusetts Historical Society *Collections*, Fifth Series, VIII. 234–265.

3. Colonial Society of Massachusetts *Publications*, XV. 205–206; Samuel Eliot Morison, *Founding of Harvard College*, 290–291.
4. Massachusetts Historical Society *Collections*, Fifth Series, VIII. 202–203.
5. *Ibid.*, Fifth Series, VIII. 235–239.
6. *Ibid.*, Fifth Series, VIII. 239–241; Winthrop Manuscripts (Massachusetts Historical Society), 7A. 71.
7. *Ibid.*, Fifth Series, VIII. 255–258; Joseph James Muskett, *Suffolk Manorial Families*, 28, 31–32; Vere Langford Oliver, *History of the Island of Antigua*, III. 249–253.
8. Massachusetts Historical Society *Proceedings*, Second Series, V. 105.
9. Massachusetts Historical Society *Collections*, Fifth Series, VIII. 254.
10. *Ibid.*, Fifth Series, VIII. 261.
11. Vere Langford Oliver, *History of the Island of Antigua*, III. 250–251.
12. *New England Historical and Genealogical Register*, LXII (1908), 382.
13. Vere Langford Oliver, *History of the Island of Antigua*, III. 250; Joseph James Muskett, *Suffolk Manorial Families*, 28, 32.

CHAPTER III

The Third Generation

JOHN[3] WINTHROP (*John*[2], *John*[1]), generally known as "Fitz-John" in order to distinguish him from his father and grandfather, was born in Massachusetts, on March 14, 1638. He may have been born at Ipswich, but his birth was recorded at Boston.[1] His early boyhood was spent in both of those towns, and in New London, Connecticut, where his father had a large plantation.

When he was sixteen, Fitz-John and his brother Wait were sent up to Massachusetts to prepare for Harvard. Their father hoped that Fitz, as the family called him, would be found ready for admission to the College; but President Dunster, having put the boy through an examination, could not stretch his conscience to that extent. The candidate's deficiencies were attributed to the frequent interruption of his education,—meaning, presumably, his moving from Boston to Fisher's Island and thence to New London, when he was about eight years old. John Winthrop was disappointed and was afraid that his son would be discouraged. Couldn't some arrangement be made whereby Fitz might get the benefit of Harvard instruction without being a member of the College? Wasn't there some Tutor, or Tutors, who would take him on as a private pupil? The problem was solved when young Thomas Dudley, Jr., a recent graduate and now a Tutor and Fellow, agreed to do just that. Dudley's mother was a Winthrop, and he and Fitz were first cousins. His description of the boy's intellectual equipment makes one wonder whether he occasionally repented his willingness to try to prepare his kinsman for college:

> Although, through his loss in learning by reason of the often intermission of his schooling, he is not able to make any sudden progress for the present, yet I hope in a small time the difficulty will begin to grow easy and his studies and he grow more familiarly acquainted. His mind seems not altogether adverse to what may seem for the present to be out of his reach, but willing to do its utmost. If he shall but approve himself, as I hope he will and am persuaded he may do, I shall rejoice in the greatest pains I take with him.

Somehow there seems to be more hope than real expectation expressed in this appraisal which Dudley wrote to his Uncle John in October, 1654.[2]

However that may have been, Dudley found board and lodging for Fitz

and his young brother Wait at Goodman Chesholme's commodious house on the northwest corner of Dunster and Winthrop Streets. Chesholme was the College Steward and a kindly man; until recently his house had been a tavern, but he had given that up and consequently Dudley looked upon the place as suitable for the boys entrusted to his care. While Wait went to Mr. Elijah Corlett's school near by, Fitz pursued his studies with their learned cousin. If Dudley had lived a little longer, it is quite possible that Mr. Chauncy, the new president, would have found Fitz eligible for admission to the College. Unfortunately Dudley died within the year, and before long Fitz decided to go to England and see what might be in store for him there.

During the Civil Wars it was not unusual for a vigorous New Englander to go to the old country and get a commission in Cromwell's army. Although those wars were over, Fitz knew that his Uncle Stephen Winthrop was colonel of a regiment there and presumably in high favor with the Protector; he would make himself known to his uncle as soon as he reached London and await developments. By the time he got there, however, in the middle of the winter of 1658, both the colonel and Oliver Cromwell were sick men; they died within the next few months. Therefore Fitz turned to another uncle, his mother's brother Colonel Thomas Reade, whom he visited at Stirling Castle in Scotland in the late spring or early summer of 1658. This trip across the border proved to be highly profitable: there was a lieutenant's place vacant in Colonel Reade's regiment and it was offered to the young man from New England. Fitz accepted it, and on September 11 was commissioned by Richard Cromwell and ordered to join the regiment.[3]

From this foothold in the army his advancement was steady and rapid, in spite of the fact that he "had a mishap and some hurt by striking at a soldier." ("I hope," wrote his Great-aunt Downing, "it will be a caution to you for time to come, for more mildness.") Before six months had passed he was governor of Cardross Castle, near Dumbarton; in February, 1660, he was promoted to a captaincy in his uncle's regiment, an appointment that was confirmed by General Monk when the Restoration had been accomplished. In November of that year, however, Colonel Reade's regiment was disbanded and Fitz-John Winthrop found himself a long way from home and with the disturbing prospect of losing his commission.[4]

The immediate future seemed to offer various possibilities. Fitz was now almost twenty-three and, as a friend of the family expressed it, "well grown."

Fitz-John Winthrop

He might make an advantageous marriage; but the more he thought of it the less he was inclined to "married life, in which there is so many restless and unavoidable cares and inconveniences."* He might travel on the Continent for a few months; but he was short of money. The best thing to do seemed to be to write to his father for more funds; while waiting to hear from him he would take lodgings in London and visit various relatives in Essex. After this manner he passed the year 1661 very agreeably, though he was not pleased when he received a letter from his father suggesting that he had spent a good deal of money. "Sir," he replied, "I confess the sum I have received was great, but no more than what former pressing and unavoidable expenses did require. I always kept a just decorum between extremes, and, as I did never prodigally spend, so I did never basely spare, which is most hateful to my natural inclination." Perhaps it was the dignity and elegance of this defense that moved John Winthrop to continued generosity. At any rate, the paternal purse-strings were loosened and there are strong indications that Fitz made his trip to the Continent.[5]

During this period of waiting he proved himself a friend in need by nursing John Haynes, Jr., through smallpox. Young Haynes was the son of that John Haynes who was governor of the Bay Colony in 1635, and later of Connecticut. He and Fitz-John Winthrop had known each other from boyhood, and both happened to be in England at the time of the Restoration, —Haynes was studying at Cambridge, while Fitz was commanding a company in General Monk's army. Haynes was perhaps the most volatile Puritan the world has ever known. He was forever falling in love with one girl or another and then falling out again with equal rapidity. But his devotion to steady-going, level-headed Fitz-John Winthrop never even wavered, and abundant evidence of it is preserved in the letters he wrote to him during these four or five years. Fitz was his Rock of Gibraltar as long as they both were in England. After Winthrop's return to America, Haynes sought consolation in matrimony and in the Church of England.[6]

From the time of its first settlement Connecticut had governed itself without any authority from King or from Parliament, and its title to the soil was far from clear. However, no one seems to have given its peculiar status much thought until the House of Stuart was restored to the throne. Then

* At the bottom of the Table of Contents of volume 6 of the Winthrop Manuscripts, Robert C. Winthrop, Jr., wrote: "Several love-letters addressed to F. J. W. in London by a lady named Von Limburg (?) have been destroyed as too confidential."

Connecticut became alarmed about its future; it hastened to recognize Charles II, and in the summer of 1661 sent its governor, John Winthrop, Jr., to London to obtain a charter that would safeguard the liberties to which it had been accustomed. As we have indicated elsewhere, the colony could not have chosen a more persuasive envoy. Two years later he returned to New England with a very liberal charter which, incidentally, annexed the smaller plantation of New Haven to its stronger neighbor and gave Connecticut territory extending to the Pacific Ocean! Fitz accompanied his father on this jubilant voyage home, and soon re-established himself in New London. There he devoted his time chiefly to raising stock on Fisher's Island and to looking after his father's property. But his life was not always so tame as those occupations might suggest; in the summer of 1664 he accompanied the British expedition against New Amsterdam and was one of a committee of four appointed to wait upon Governor Stuyvesant with a persuasive invitation to surrender the town.[7]

In 1671 New London elected Captain Winthrop one of its deputies to the Connecticut General Court, but that kind of employment did not interest him and he was absent when the roll was called. What did appeal to him was the military side of the life of the colony. In 1672 he was appointed head of the militia of New London County, and in the autumn of 1673 he was commissioned "Sergeant-Major over the military forces of his Majesty's subjects on Long Island." The Dutch, it will be remembered, had recaptured New York and most of Long Island in the summer of 1673; now they threatened to take over the towns on the eastern end of that island. Those places, having been settled by Englishmen from the mainland, turned to Hartford for protection, and the government responded by sending over Fitz-John Winthrop with a party of men. He had hardly reached Southold when a squadron of four Dutch ships appeared, and its commander, threatening extermination with fire and sword, sent word to him to surrender. When Winthrop refused, the enemy made preparations to land. Fitz-John's official account of what followed is not without humor:

> His sloops being ready to put off, and all things fit, he fired one of his great guns upon us; but the shot grazing by the disadvantage of the ground did no hurt to our men. Having received his kindness I gave order to return him thanks by firing a piece of ordnance upon him; but the shot falling at his fore foot did him no hurt—whereupon he fired 2 more great guns, and his small shot, which fell thick but did us no hurt. We then presently answered with our forlorn [a forlorn hope of fifty

men he had placed where they might prevent a landing] and another shot from our ordnance: Many of our small shot hitting the ship as we could perceive, but know not of any hurt done him. Whereupon he presently weighed and set sail, and being little wind, we had opportunity to observe his motion so far as "Plumme Gutt." Since when our scouts have not discovered any of them in the Sound.[8]

Ridiculous though this little battle was, the fact remains that Fitz-John Winthrop accomplished what he was commissioned to do. The Governor and Council of Connecticut appreciated it, and thanked him and his company accordingly. In the eyes of the people he had suddenly become something more than just the son of their beloved governor. He had proved himself the man of the hour. A year or two later he helped to administer his part of Connecticut during King Philip's War, but did not lead any of the aggressive contingents of the colony. After that, uncertain health and the pursuit of agriculture kept Fitz-John more or less in retirement until 1686, when he suddenly became conspicuous as a member of the Council appointed by the Crown to govern the newly created Dominion of New England.

This Dominion came into being soon after Charles II revoked the charter of Massachusetts-Bay, and it included all New England except Plymouth Colony, eastern Rhode Island, and Connecticut. Thus it included "the Narragansett Country" which extended from Narragansett Bay to the Pawcatuck River. Of this last territory, which had recently been carved out of southwestern Rhode Island and named "the King's Province," Fitz-John was one of the principal proprietors, and it was appropriate that he should be its representative on the Council. So it came about that one morning in the spring of 1686 Fitz-John awoke to find himself a member of that Board, of which Joseph Dudley was President. Although some of the Councillors from Massachusetts patriotically declined to serve in the new administration, Fitz-John and his brother Wait did not feel that loyalty to the abrogated charter required them to turn their backs on the new régime. It is quite likely they thought they could be of more use to their country by being *in* the new government than by withdrawing from it. About six months later Dudley was superseded by Sir Edmund Andros, whose commission and subsequent instructions added Plymouth Colony, Rhode Island, Connecticut, New York and New Jersey to his Dominion. His Council, like that of his predecessor, included Fitz-John and Wait Winthrop.[9]

The name of Governor Andros has been anathema in Massachusetts for

more than two hundred and fifty years, but to Fitz-John—who was somewhat removed from the impact of the Andros tyranny—he probably did not seem such a bad sort. Both men were, or had been, soldiers. Furthermore, Winthrop had become fairly well acquainted with Andros when the latter was governor of New York and he remembered what a kind letter of condolence Sir Edmund had written him when he lost his father in 1676. More recently he had called on Andros occasionally in New York, and their relations had been more than amicable. At one time there was considerable debate as to whether Fisher's Island, off New London, was under the jurisdiction of Connecticut or under that of New York. Connecticut claimed it and wanted Fitz-John Winthrop to take its side. Very prudently he chose to remain neutral. The island was part of his father's estate and remained in the possession of his descendants until 1863. Which government should enjoy jurisdiction over it was not for him to say; but being between the upper and the nether millstone, it behooved him to keep on good terms with both. Oddly enough, Andros, representing New York, showed him more consideration in this matter than did the Governor and Council of Connecticut, and probably he was not greatly disappointed when New York won the dispute. On another occasion Sir Edmund confirmed the Winthrop title to some land on Long Island that had been a gift from the Indians there. When writing his brother about this business Fitz-John added, "he is ready to do anything else within his power." Thus, though Fitz-John could not be enthusiastic about the abolition of representative government in New England and the substitution of rule by a governor and council appointed by the Crown, he felt no personal antipathy for Sir Edmund Andros, Knight.[10]

Governor Andros's first Council consisted of twenty-seven members, among whom Fitz was the only one from Connecticut. Its headquarters were at Boston. Fitz-John was sworn in on the last day of December, 1686, and was a fairly regular attendant at meetings from that time until the overthrow of the Andros régime in April, 1689. When he was absent, it usually meant that he was ill,—as he frequently was in these years. That he was in the good graces of the new governor was soon evident, for early in January, 1687, Sir Edmund appointed him colonel of the Rhode Island and Narragansett militia and "captain of a company of the said militia in the town of Providence aforesaid"; ten months later he made him major-general of all the Rhode Island, Narragansett, and Connecticut militia. And

from the beginning of the new régime Fitz-John placed himself squarely on the side of the royal governor. He believed in law and order; and having been an officer in the British Army, he believed also in obeying instructions from those in authority. Connecticut was alarmed by the prospect of losing its charter and was inclined to be defiant. But Fitz-John Winthrop was quite calm and took a very practical view of the disturbing situation: as there was nothing the people of Connecticut could do about it, they had better accept it gracefully—and he told them so. To write a letter of that kind to the Secretary of the Colony in January, 1687, took courage.[11]

When Andros had formally annexed Rhode Island, Connecticut, New York, and New Jersey to his Dominion of New England, his Council was expanded to forty-two members; but almost from the beginning the attendance at its sessions fell off until there was only a handful there, and most of these held other offices in the administration. Sir Edmund's methods were arbitrary and went against the Yankee grain, yet Fitz-John and Wait Winthrop continued to go to the meetings whether they enjoyed them or not and regardless of public opinion.[12] Fitz-John was doing his duty as he saw it; Wait was keeping his eye on the trend of affairs, and was biding his time.

In April, 1689, an uprising in Boston overthrew the Andros government and substituted a return to the old order. In that revolution Wait Winthrop was one of the leaders. Fitz-John, being in New London, merely acquiesced in it. Connecticut resumed self-government under the charter John Winthrop, Jr., had brought over in 1663, elected Fitz-John an Assistant, and a year later entrusted him with the command of the colony's forces in an expedition against Canada.[13] It is clear that whatever differences of opinion may have existed between him and the Connecticut patriots in the days of Andros, his fellow-citizens had no doubt about his character and ability. When they needed the best Connecticut could provide, they turned to Fitz-John Winthrop.

The Canadian expedition of 1690 was an ill-starred attempt to carry the war into the heart of the enemy's country in the New World, and so put an end to the devastating Indian raids inspired by Count Frontenac. It was devised by a congress of delegates from New York and New England held in the city of New York: Sir William Phips was to attack Quebec from the sea, while a co-operating body of militia should advance upon Montreal by the way of Lake Champlain. The land forces were to be drawn from New

York, Massachusetts, Plymouth and Connecticut, a total of seven hundred and fifty men. They were to rendezvous at Albany; and after more or less bickering, it was decided that Fitz-John Winthrop should command them. Things went badly from beginning to end. In the first place, Massachusetts and Plymouth withdrew their contingents in order to defend their own frontiers. Nevertheless, Fitz-John left Hartford about July 15 and "after a tedious march through the difficult and almost impassable parts of the wilderness" reached Albany just a week later. Then his real troubles began. New York had promised four hundred men, but only about one hundred and fifty materialized. As a rule Winthrop was not one to complain or to blame others for his own misfortunes, but he was almost bitter when he notified the Connecticut authorities of this disappointment: "I find very truly that your designs and those of York have different intentions, and they have led you too cunningly into an association just to serve their extremity and will now hardly confess your generous assistance and preservation of their interest." The situation was made worse by sickness in his little army; smallpox and dysentery reduced the number of Connecticut men fit for service to only about one hundred and thirty, and many of these were discouraged by the prospect of being "taken with the distemper upon the march, so remote from all help." Furthermore, no canoes for the advance up Lake Champlain were ready, and no definite agreement with our Indian allies, the Iroquois, had been reached. It was all very depressing and disconcerting.

Nevertheless, Winthrop pulled his forces together and marched northward about a hundred miles to Wood Creek, which flows into Lake Champlain at its southern extremity. Here he encamped on August 7 and held a council of war with his Iroquois sachems. They did not seem to be eager to push on into Canada, and a day or two later he learned that the large contingent of Indian warriors he had counted upon would not be forthcoming; smallpox had broken out among them, too. Under date of August 15 he wrote in his Journal: "This day, finding no possibility of getting provision to support the forces here any longer, and that here was not canoes to transport half the Christians, and that we could not by any means at this post either alarm or spoil the enemy, it was thought most advisable to return with the army." Fitz-John Winthrop was a realist; he put his pride in his pocket and pursued the only wise course. Four days later he was back in Albany.

If the Winthrop expedition had got through to Montreal, perhaps Sir William Phips's attempt to take Quebec would have turned out better than it did. Perhaps not. All one can state positively is that it was a dismal and expensive failure.[14]

Fitz-John's distrust of New York was due to the fact that that province was then dominated by Jacob Leisler, a coarse, opinionated, hot-headed German demagogue, who had engineered the Glorious Revolution in that part of the world and was now in control of the government there. His right-hand man was his son-in-law, Jacob Milborne. Winthrop liked them not and trusted them not. When his colony agreed to join with New York in an expedition against Canada, he had misgivings; and, as we have seen, his fears were amply justified when he reached Albany in July and found how little "York" had done to fulfill its part of the agreement: Connecticut had been taken in by these "unreasonable men wholly tied up to their own interest," whom he called "the worst of vipers." The situation was made worse by the fact that Leisler had intended to have Milborne commander-in-chief, but had yielded to the remonstrances of Massachusetts and Connecticut and had finally concurred in their nomination of Fitz-John Winthrop.

When Winthrop returned frustrated to Albany, the "vipers" thought the time had come for them to strike. Hurrying northward from Manhattan, Leisler seized Winthrop and imprisoned him pending a court-martial which he proposed to institute. When his fellow officers from Connecticut went to the fort and requested his release, they were told to "go to York,"—the implication being that the prisoner had been sent to Manhattan, which was not the case. The Yankees were not satisfied, and while they were considering rescuing their leader by force a very surprising thing occurred. A number of Mohawk braves who had accompanied the expedition on its retreat from Wood Creek took the matter into their own hands; crossing the Hudson from where they were encamped, they "brought him off, with great triumph, and to the universal joy of the army."[15] Leisler was enraged, of course, and threatened to have Winthrop tried at New York later on. For the time being he gave vent to his wrath by writing Governor Bradstreet of Massachusetts about "Major Winthrop's treachery and cowardice," and by using even more violent language in a letter addressed to the Governor and Council of Connecticut; in the latter he accused Fitz-John of being, among other

things, "one who lived in open adulteries."[16] Quite properly the New England governments took this vilification whence it came. After Connecticut had investigated the unfortunate campaign, it approved Winthrop's conduct, thanked him for his "good service to their Majesties and this Colony," and voted him a present of £40 "as a farther testimony of their good acceptance of and thankfullness for his good service."[17] The court-martial at New York, which Leisler had threatened, never came off. Instead there was another trial, as a result of which both Jacob Leisler and Jacob Milborne were hanged at Manhattan in May, 1691.

In 1693 Fitz-John was again elected an Assistant, and in that office or one higher he served the colony for the remainder of his life. Leisler and Milborne were no more, but New York, or rather its rulers, continued to be a thorn in the side of Connecticut. In the summer of 1692 the new governor of New York, Colonel Benjamin Fletcher, arrived from England with a commission which he interpreted as giving him command over the militia of Connecticut as well as over that of his own province. Connecticut could not take that view, of course, because under its charter it had entire control of its own militia. Men began to wonder whether William III intended to disregard their chartered rights in any way he chose. In order to find out just where they stood and whether Governor Fletcher's claim was sustained, the people authorized the Assembly to address William and Mary on the subject. Accordingly the Assembly, at a special session held at Hartford in September, 1693, appointed Colonel Winthrop and three others a committee "to prepare an address to their Majesties for their confirmation of our privileges to us, etc." At the same time it chose Fitz-John to be its Agent "to go over for England and to endeavor to present our address to their Majesties."[18] So it came to pass that in 1694 he was in London, where he gradually accomplished what he had been sent over to do, and by the summer of 1695 he thought he could see his way to returning to Connecticut. But complications arose because of new unreasonable demands made upon the colony by Governor Fletcher, and these, too, had to be brought to the attention of the authorities in England with a view to annulment or modification. Incidentally, he became acquainted with the Earl of Bellomont, "a very good man," who was soon to become governor of New York, Massachusetts and New Hampshire, and, in time of war, captain-general of all the forces of the northeastern colonies including Connecticut.[19]

Finally, having visited some of his English relatives, Fitz-John sailed from Cowes on November 8, 1697, recrossed the Atlantic, and landed at Boston on December 11. The voyage was made in twenty-eight days from Land's End. "It pleased God," he wrote to a friend in England, "to give me a very happy voyage to this country." In this he was more fortunate than the Earl of Bellomont. They sailed in the same fleet, but in different ships. After a few days they were separated by bad weather, and Winthrop's vessel and one other made the rest of the crossing by themselves. With Bellomont things went from bad to worse; when approaching the coast of New England he ran into such violent storms that the captain bore away to Barbados, and his Lordship did not reach New York until the following spring.[20]

News of Winthrop's safe arrival was not long in reaching Hartford. On December 24 the Governor and Council of Connecticut appointed four gentlemen "to go to Boston to our agent Major General Winthrop and in the name of the Governor and Council to congratulate his safe arrival from England into this country, and to accompany him into this Colony, either to New London or to some other place as the Major General shall please to direct his journey."[21] The savior of Connecticut's rights had returned to his native land.

One of the more enjoyable side issues of his mission in England had been the purchase of a bell for the new meeting-house at New London. About the time of Winthrop's departure for the Old World the meeting-house, a fairly recent structure, had burned and the bell had melted. Fitz-John decided to acquire a new one in England, ship it to New London, and present it to the town. Curiously enough, there seems to have been an act of Parliament that prohibited the exportation of bells; this was awkward for Winthrop, but helpful to us because he had to petition the Lords Justices in Council for permission to bring it out and in so doing left a clew that enables us to trace the bell to England. Its history in America begins on July 18, 1698, when the town of New London voted to accept "the gift of the Bell given by Governor Winthrop for the meeting-house with great thankfulness and desire that their thanks may be given to his Honor for the same." It also voted "that the bell be forthwith hanged and placed on the top of the meeting-house at charge of the town, the townsmen to procure it to be done."[22]

A few weeks before the acceptance of the bell Fitz-John had been elected

governor of Connecticut. His predecessor, Robert Treat, had filled that office for fifteen years and still enjoyed great and deserved popularity. But the wave of enthusiasm for Winthrop swept all before it, and at the age of fifty-nine he found himself chosen chief executive of the colony. His administration began under distinctly favorable circumstances: he was tremendously popular; he had established friendly personal relations with the new governor of New York; and England and France were, for the time being, at peace. Indeed the office might have been almost dull if there had not been pirates to track down and arrest, and Rhode Islanders who needed to be taught to respect boundaries.

Year after year Fitz-John Winthrop came up for re-election and was regularly re-elected.[23] The only real cloud on his horizon was Joseph Dudley, the unloved royal governor of Massachusetts, who had succeeded Bellomont in that office in 1702. Dudley may have been aiming only at military efficiency and the glory of New England, but a good many persons in Connecticut looked upon his various schemes with suspicion. They remembered all too well that he had been behind a recent attempt to revoke their precious charter by a bill introduced into Parliament. A man who had done that would bear watching. Now, with a new war on with France, he tried again to bring about the abolition of their chartered government and also to involve their colony in a disastrous expedition against Port Royal in Nova Scotia. But Connecticut need not have worried. Fitz-John Winthrop knew all about Joseph Dudley; and ably assisted by Sir Henry Ashurst, Connecticut's vigilant Agent in London, he adroitly thwarted his designs at every turn. Even when Dudley conspired with Lord Cornbury—the new governor of New York, who was Queen Anne's cousin—Winthrop and Ashurst were more than a match for both of them.[24]

One day toward the end of May, 1707, Fitz-John wrote to his brother Wait, "I am now very sick, and weary of my life such as it is." Usually his letters to his brother were written in a merry vein; and though there is a flicker of fun elsewhere in this one, the reader feels that Fitz-John was really far from well when he wrote it and was not at all sure that he would ever be any better. During the summer he gained somewhat and towards the end of August he managed to write a very entertaining letter to Wait on the subject of the proposed marriage of Wait's son to one of Governor Joseph Dudley's daughters. About that time he learned that Wait himself was contem-

plating matrimony; he had been a widower for seventeen years and was now about to wed the widow of John Eyre, an affluent Boston merchant. Largely to please his brother, Fitz-John rallied his waning strength and made the journey to Boston, where Governor Dudley gave a dinner in his honor on October first. On November 13 he attended Wait's wedding. Governor Dudley urged him to stay on until the marriage of the young people had taken place. But it was not so to be. Fitz-John became seriously ill, and died on November 27. Seven days later Judge Sewall wrote in his Diary: "Governor Winthrop is buried from the Council Chamber. Foot-companies in arms, and two troops. Armor carried; a led horse. Bearers: Governor [Dudley], Mr. Russell; Mr. Cooke, Major Brown; Col. Hutchinson, Sewall; Mr. Secretary [Isaac Addington], Mr. Sergeant. Father, son, and grandson lie together in one tomb in the old burying place [King's Chapel Burying-ground]. Was a vast concourse of people."[25]

Cotton Mather delivered the sermon at the funeral services, and Judge Sewall found it "very good." It was printed in Boston in 1708 under the title *Winthropi Justa*; there was a London edition in 1709 and another London edition in 1710. A contemporary lament in rhyme by Benjamin Tompson, "the earliest native American poet," is printed in Massachusetts Historical Society *Proceedings*, Second Series, x (1895–96), 369–371, and elsewhere. A manuscript copy, presumably in the author's handwriting, is in the Winthrop Manuscripts (Massachusetts Historical Society), 88. 100.

In his will, drawn in March, 1702, Fitz-John provided amply and generously for his wife and for his daughter, Mrs. Mary Livingston. All the real estate which he had inherited from his father he left to his brother Wait "and the heirs male of his body forever," on condition that Wait should give £100 to each of Fitz-John's four sisters. But if Wait should die without male heirs, this property should then go to Fitz-John's daughter. To "the Collegiate School" which was to become Yale College, he bequeathed £100 "provided the said School be settled and upheld, and while it shall be so upheld, in the town of Saybrook."[26] As the future Yale was moved to New Haven before the Winthrop estate was settled, this conditional bequest lapsed. About a year and a half before he made his will, Fitz-John had deeded all his property of every description to Wait's son John. The discovery of this deed among his papers created complications in the administering of his estate, but these were disposed of by an amicable arrangement.

More troublesome were an old lawsuit brought by his brother-in-law and neighbor, Major Palmes, which was pending, and a number of debts that had to be paid. The testator had been a hospitable man and not averse to spending. Whether his debts were chargeable to his own property only or to that plus what he held jointly with his brother, was one of the many questions that had to be decided.

Fitz-John Winthrop's chief characteristics were common sense and a buoyant personality. The combination of the two saw him and his colony through many difficulties. He may not have been brilliant, but he was invariably level-headed, sagacious, and resourceful. He accomplished almost everything he attempted to do, and his good nature won him friends wherever he went. His letters are vigorous and refreshing: when elegance was required, his style was dignified but never stilted; where a personal compliment or an expression of friendly interest might help the situation, he introduced it deftly and in perfect taste. Both grace and tenderness mark the letter which his daughter Mary carried with her when she went to visit her husband's family at Albany a few days after her marriage to young John Livingston.[27] It is addressed to the groom's mother, Mrs. Alida (Schuyler) Livingston:

DEAR MADAM,—

SINCE it hath pleased God by his providence to dispose the affections of your son and my daughter to each other, and that by your concurrence they are now joined together in marriage, let us pray that they may be a blessing to one another, and to yourselves and us also, and I am sure nothing will be wanting in her to contribute to it with all dutiful respects. You will find in her a temper fit for the impression of all good, and your dictates and insinuations will be commands to her; and being now your own and most dear to us, we do earnestly recommend her to your love and affection, which will be so much more generous, as she is a stranger and far from her relations. I have great hope of their happiness from their endeared affection to each other, and from the many good qualifications which I have observed in your son, which has greatly endeared him to me, and so much so, that I have but one affection for them both. And now, Madam, being related to you in a nearer than the near relation of friendship, I will take all opportunity to express my sense of it and that it will very much please me to be called

Your most affectionate brother,

J: WINTHROP

But perhaps he was at his best when writing to his brother Wait. Then the fun in him—and there was plenty of it—was allowed to come to the front. In those letters there is hardly a paragraph without a twinkle or a chuckle

in it, even when the subject is serious business. Apparently whenever he thought of Wait, he became a boy again. And his nephew, Wait's son John, seems to have regarded him as a highly congenial contemporary rather than as a distinguished member of the older generation. John's letters to his uncle are quite unrestrained and full of sparkle, all of which confirms one's impression that Fitz-John was a favorite with all ages as well as with all kinds of men.[28]

A portrait of him, which was probably painted in London between 1694 and 1697, is in the possession of Robert Winthrop and has often been copied. The original is reproduced here. Fitz-John, clad in armor, looks at one with a gaze so direct that it is almost disconcerting. Yet it was directness of that kind that was one of Winthrop's essential qualities. He had a rather large nose and not a very good mouth, but one hardly notices these. It was the man's eye that arrested attention, commanded respect, and was the true index to his character.

Pieces of armor worn by Fitz-John Winthrop were given to the Massachusetts Historical Society in 1924 by Miss Clara Bowdoin Winthrop; and she deposited with the Society a copy of the portrait mentioned above. His sword, "after having been carefully preserved by six generations of the Winthrop family, was given to the American Antiquarian Society in 1888 by Thomas Lindall Winthrop of Boston, third of that name." It is a basket-hilted "Andrea Ferrara." There is a drawing of it in the American Antiquarian Society *Proceedings*, New Series, v (1887–88), 150.

Fitz-John's wariness of matrimony persisted until he was not far from forty, perhaps older than that. Then he married Elizabeth Tongue, of New London, who was fourteen or fifteen years younger than he.* She died at New London, April 25, 1731. A portrait of her by an unidentified artist is owned by Robert Winthrop, of New York.

Child:

Mary. About 1701 she married John Livingston, eldest son of Robert Livingston, of Albany, New York. Fitz-John Winthrop and Robert Livingston became well acquainted with each other in 1690, at the time of Winthrop's

* In his own copy of his *Short Account of the Winthrop Family* Robert C. Winthrop, Jr., made the following manuscript notation: "According to gossip, he did not marry Elizabeth Tongue until after his father's death in 1676 and had previously had a child by her. Her father was an inn-keeper and a man of substance. . . ." The present writer has been informed that "she still signed deeds up until—and including—1698 as Elizabeth Tongue, also letters." In his will, dated March 14, 1701/02, Fitz-John refers to her as "Mrs. Elizabeth Winthrop."

expedition against the French. When John Livingston was about ten years old he spent a year or more at school in New England, under the superintending eye of Fitz-John.[29] Presumably Mary and John had known each other from childhood. The young Livingstons made their home at Mohegan a few miles north of New London. She died, without issue, January 8, 1713, and was buried at New London.

A portrait of Mary Winthrop Livingston is in the possession of Robert Winthrop; there is a copy of it at the Massachusetts Historical Society.

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WAIT STILL[3] WINTHROP (*John*[2], *John*[1]) was born in Boston, Massachusetts, February 27, 1642, and was baptized by the Reverend John Cotton at the First Church about a week later.[1] His name arrests the eye at once, because in the seventeenth century a middle name was very unusual. Furthermore, why Wait; and why Still? The latter is, perhaps, more easily explained than the former. Adam Winthrop, of England, the child's great-grandfather, had married Alice Still; and though she was his first wife and not the ancestress of any Winthrops, the family had always valued the connection. And the fact that her brother Dr. John Still was a distinguished man—Master of Trinity College, Cambridge, and later Bishop of Bath and Wells—probably made the name additionally attractive. One surmises that Still was Governor Winthrop's suggestion, not that of John Winthrop, Jr., who was three thousand miles away when this son was born. As to the name Wait, a reasonable conjecture is that the child's mother knew one or more members of the Wait family and loved them dearly. There were a number of Waits in New England, and some of them came from the County of Essex, in England, the former home of Elizabeth (Reade) Winthrop. In the Winthrop papers of this period there is no indication of any

intimacy between the two families, but in a letter to his father, written many years later, Wait Still mentioned the recent death of a Mary Wait and added "which I suppose you have heard."[2*]

During Wait's early boyhood his father moved from Massachusetts to New London, Connecticut, where he had a large plantation. Life in that New England paradise must have been almost idyllic, especially for a small boy; yet, oddly enough, our earliest glimpse of him is rather painful. When he was between eleven and twelve years old Wait went to school at Hartford and while there ate too many green apples,—at least that is what Governor Haynes surmised when he wrote to the youngster's father:

> Your youngest son (Mr. Wait) hath been somewhat ill of late, complaining of a pain in his belly, and withal looks somewhat heavy-eyed, not so ready to stir up and down as formerly, yet keeps not his bed, but rises daily, and seems for the most part to have a pretty good stomach to his meat; only we judge it best, for the while, that he keep his chamber. . . . I hope there is not the least danger, yet I thought I could but acquaint you with it, because it may please God to direct you to advise for the best, and to send something useful for him in that case.[3]

About a year after this indisposition Wait was sent up to Cambridge to prepare for Harvard College. For company in exile he had his older brother Fitz-John, and the two boys were housed and fed at Mr. Chesholme's on the northwest corner of Dunster and Winthrop Streets. There are strong indications that Fitz-John was homesick and one feels even more sympathy for Wait, who was three years younger. There were relatives in Boston; their cousin Thomas Dudley, Jr., was a tutor at the College; and Deacon Child, an old friend of the family, looked in now and then; but even so, there must have been times when Cambridge seemed a long, long way from New London. While brother Fitz studied with Tutor Dudley, Wait went to the grammar school conducted by Mr. Elijah Corlett; the school-house was on the westerly side of Holyoke Street. After four years of this he was ready for college and entered Harvard with the Class of 1662. There he remained more than a year, but exactly how much more is a question.[4]

Whatever Wait's scholastic standing may have been, his social position

* Those who prefer the theory that the name Wait Still was a Puritan invention like Hopestill, instead of two surnames of sentimental significance to the Winthrops, have much on their side of the argument: (1) the use of middle names was rare in New England prior to 1730; (2) the Psalms contain many exhortations to "wait on the Lord"; (3) Roger Clap, of Dorchester, Massachusetts, named one of his sons Waitstill, and this son was born within a few months of Wait Still Winthrop; and (4) the record of his baptism gives his name as Waitstill, not as Wait Still.

Wait Still Winthrop

was assured not only by the regard in which his family was held throughout New England but also by his father's care in having him enrolled as a "fellow commoner." In order to be a fellow commoner a student had to pay a higher tuition fee and give the College a piece of plate valued at £3 or more. In return he was addressed and recorded as "Mr.," allowed to dine at the Fellows' table, and placed at the top of his class in the catalogue of graduates. In short, he outranked all other undergraduates,—except other fellow commoners, and they were very, very few. Wait was the only one in the Class of 1662, and his present to the College was a silver beaker "that holds a pint," which has since disappeared.[5]

About the time Wait entered Harvard, his brother Fitz-John went to England, leaving the younger boy to get along as best he could in Cambridge. Wait was always able to take care of himself, but it was not easy for him to adjust his mind to separation from this older brother. Several months after Fitz's departure, Wait wrote him a letter beginning:

DEAR BROTHER,—

THE affection that I bear to you will not let me omit any opportunity of writing to you, for I hope that that vast sea which is between us shall never make me forgetful of you. I can scarce digest it, that there being but two of us in the world that we should live so many thousand miles asunder; and I would it were my happiness once to see you here again, it would exceedingly rejoice me.

Then, after telling him the family news, he closes with:

Adieu, my sweet brother, with tears in mine eyes for you, desiring the Almighty to keep and bless you, and desiring you not to forget him who is your loving brother till death.

One may smile at the seventeenth-century verbiage and make allowance for the fact that the writer was a Sophomore; yet the letter makes one feel that fraternal devotion was deep in the heart of Wait Still Winthrop.[6] It remained one of his chief characteristics throughout life and was fully reciprocated by his brother Fitz-John.

It used to be said that Wait withdrew from Harvard "in order to be with his mother during the long absences in England of his father and brother." Possibly that was the original intention, but bits of evidence to be found in the Winthrop manuscripts indicate clearly that he, too, went to England, presumably with his father in the summer of 1661.[7] At any rate, we know that both he and his father were in London in December, 1661. After re-

turning to New England in the summer of 1663, he visited Boston and then settled down at New London where he was chosen captain of the local train-band in 1665.

From 1670 on he spent a good deal of time in Boston; but New London was still his home when King Philip's War broke out in the summer of 1675, and Connecticut immediately sent him on a diplomatic mission to the Narragansett Indians. That tribe favored Philip, and would become active on his side unless steps were taken to make it an ally of the English. Accordingly Massachusetts and Connecticut sent envoys to negotiate with the sachems. Wait Winthrop, accompanied by about sixty Pequots and a like number of militia men, was one of these, and on July 15, 1675, a treaty with the Narragansetts was signed. Having accomplished this, he and his company were ordered back to Connecticut to defend the county of New London.[8] And this, to tell the truth, seems to be the whole story of Wait Winthrop's activities in King Philip's War. He was, however, one of his colony's Commissioners in the confederation known as the United Colonies in New England in the autumn of 1675. The Commissioners met that year in Boston. John Winthrop, Jr., was one of Connecticut's representatives and Wait was the other. While attending its meetings in the spring of 1676, Governor Winthrop died. Wait was with him at that time.

While his father was governor, Wait was often in Hartford and the people there became much attached to him. Soon after the Governor's death, they tried to persuade him to come there to live and suggested the possibility of special inducements that might be offered in his case. But Wait was not carried away by the idea. If he were to reside anywhere else than at New London, it would be in Boston or its vicinity, where he had various interests. Among these interests was Mary Browne, whose father was an opulent and public-spirited merchant of Salem. They were married sometime prior to February 18, 1678; and thereafter Wait Winthrop was an established Bostonian. His church was the Third, or South.

In 1680 one of his Connecticut friends, who was a power in the political world, thought of something that might lure Winthrop back to Connecticut and wrote John Allyn, Secretary of that colony, about it. It all came to naught, but it gives one an idea of how Wait, at the age of thirty-eight, was regarded by those who knew him well:

Mr. Waite Winthrop being a very sober, discreet gentleman, much advantaged

by his parentage, as well as his abilities and fullness of estate, for public trust, it may be of great advantage to the Colony to choose him to be a magistrate this General Court; which will be a fair call to him to live in the Colony (unto which I hear he is inclined), who may be very useful in point of physic as well as otherwise. He is a person of far greater honor than any that can be chosen to supply in the Colony. The making of rulers of the lower sort of the people will issue in contempt, let their opinion be what it will.

In other words, there was a movement to draft Wait into the Connecticut government in order to persuade him to make that colony his place of residence.[9]

The reference to "physic" reflects his interest in medicine. Like his father and grandfather before him, Wait Winthrop was an amateur physician and more than ready to use his knowledge to relieve suffering humanity. His brother Fitz-John, who had a mysterious recurrent malady, relied on him for medical advice; and apparently innumerable Bostonians turned to him when in distress. Increase Mather wrote, "And how many thousands of poor people he generously and compassionately relieved with medicines (as well as with counsels), which might have brought in great sums of money if the just value had been demanded for them, is best known to Him who honoured him with making him the instrument of doing good unto many."[10] In similar vein Cotton Mather declared, "Wherever he came, the diseased flocked about him as if the Angel of Bethesda had come among them. And the cures which God wrought by his means were such that no doubt some thousands of people—and some in very desperate cases—have had cause of thankfulness to the Lord our Healer for him."[11] There can be no doubt that Wait was both benevolent and generous; but when one reads some of his prescriptions, one wonders how efficacious his remedies really were. When his brother was ill in 1682, he wrote him:

I thought I had sent you a paper of rubila and black powder in the breeches pocket of Mr. Palmes. I know no better antidote in fevers than the black powder, niter, snakeweed, lignum vitae, white cordial powder, unicorn's horn, all which you know the use of. Mr. Starr told me he should not go out of town till tomorrow, and just now he tells me he is going, so that I am a bit straitened, having no ivory beaten, neither have I any pearl; but if you use shells and oculi cancrorum [crabs' eyes] instead of it, it may do as well. Mix snakeweed and lig. vitae with niter to take in the morning; mix four grains apiece of coral, oculi cancrorum, and ivory, to be taken at any time; three or four grains of unicorn's horn mixed with the black powder at night; but remember that rubila be taken at the beginning of any illness.[12]

Our ancestors needed to have strong stomachs, and strong constitutions as well.

Wait Winthrop attended to his own affairs and kept out of politics until 1686. Then, without having been a selectman of the town of Boston or a deputy in the General Court, he was catapulted into the Council, of which Joseph Dudley was president. This Council, appointed by the Crown, was the supreme governing body in Massachusetts; it was instituted soon after the original charter was revoked and representative government abolished. Its members were selected with great care, the idea being to appoint men who, for one reason or another, had already won the respect and confidence of the people they were to govern. Men of that type would make the sudden transition from representative government to autocracy easier to bear. Probably this is the reason why both Wait and his older brother Fitz-John were placed on this board of eighteen that was to rule Massachusetts and some other parts of New England; people's discontent and fears would be quieted by the knowledge that the Council included two Winthrops. Three of the appointees, Nathaniel Saltonstall, former Governor Bradstreet, and his son Dudley Bradstreet, could not bring themselves to participate in the new government; loyalty to the charter and the principles it embodied prevented them from lending respectability to the new régime by being identified with it. They declined to serve on the Council, and one has to admire them for obeying their New England consciences. Wait Winthrop took a different view of the situation: the charter was gone, and the only way in which he could help to guide the destiny of Massachusetts was to accept this appointment to the Council. One might lament the annulment of the charter, but one ought to be practical.

Dudley and his associates formally took over the government on May 25, 1686, and one of their first acts was to place the Castle (now Fort Independence) under the care and command of "Captain Wait Winthrop, a person of known loyalty." In July the Council despatched him and Major Pynchon to Hartford to persuade Governor Treat that Connecticut would do well to surrender its charter without protest and become, like Massachusetts, a part of the new Dominion of New England.[13] This assignment must have been far from pleasant; but perhaps Wait, like Fitz-John, felt justified in arguing in favor of compliance with, rather than resistance to, what seemed inevitable. However that may have been, Connecticut was not persuaded.

In December, 1686, the Dudley government was replaced by a governor, Sir Edmund Andros, and a Council which, like its predecessor, included both Wait and Fitz-John Winthrop. Sir Edmund came over in a 50-gun frigate, the *Kingfisher*, which reached the lower harbor on the morning of December 19, after a nine weeks' passage. It was the Sabbath day and Wait Winthrop had been "very ill near a fortnight," presumably with a hard cold; nevertheless, in the afternoon he and some others went down the harbor and on board the *Kingfisher* to pay their respects. When Wait presented himself, the Governor inquired immediately for Fitz-John and remarked that he must come up to Boston for he was a member of the Council. As Fitz-John and Andros were old friends, this was probably just a conversational amenity; but Wait took it seriously, and on the following day he hurried a letter off to New London urging his brother to make all haste to come![14]

Not long after his arrival in New England, Sir Edmund went out to Cambridge to view the College there and to receive its congratulations. Increase Mather, with the title of Rector, was then presiding at Harvard and it behooved him and his Fellows or Tutors to make the best possible impression on the new governor. With all these innovations in the government of Massachusetts, who knew but that the College would be suppressed or turned into an Anglican institution? Accordingly, Tutor Leverett laid it on with a trowel when he delivered an address of welcome in Latin to Governor Andros and those members of his Council who accompanied him. Among these, it seems, were Wait and Fitz-John Winthrop, for, after showering Sir Edmund with classical bouquets, Leverett turned to the Winthrops, and greeted them as "returned Horaces," distinguished both because of their noble ancestry and in their own right.[15] What the Winthrops had done to merit being called Horaces—except to live on a farm—is a mystery, but probably the reference had meaning to them and to most of those present. At any rate, the address seems to have had the desired effect, for Harvard College was one of the few institutions that were not called in question by Governor Andros during his brief, exasperating administration.

Wait Winthrop's attendance at the meetings of the Council was noticeably regular. Much that went on at those sessions must have made his blood boil, but he remained a member of the board as long as it existed.[16] Many men in his position would have stayed away from the meetings or would

even have resigned, but that was not Wait's way. Even if he could not prevail at the sessions, he could oppose and protest. Furthermore, he could learn at first hand what Andros was up to.

In the winter of 1688–89 Boston heard that William of Orange had crossed to England and that James had fled; it also read the Declaration which William issued when he set out on that venture. One passage in it had a special appeal to New Englanders, for William had said, "all Magistrates who have been unjustly turned out, shall forthwith resume their former employments; as well as all the Boroughs of England shall return to their ancient Prescriptions and Charters." Couldn't this be interpreted to mean the restoration of the Massachusetts charter and the government they had enjoyed under it? The leading citizens liked to think it could. While they were pondering the matter, Boston suddenly became a riotous place and Governor Andros sought refuge in the fort on Fort Hill. On the morning of April 18, 1689, no one knew what might happen next, but it looked very much as if the populace would try to take the fort by storm. Whenever any of the governor's detested officials appeared on the streets, they were seized and locked up. Wait Winthrop and a number of other substantial citizens, including his cousin Adam Winthrop, met at the townhouse, where the Old State House now stands, and decided on a policy. They were entirely in sympathy with the insurrection, but they did not want the people to go too far. First they gave their attention and approval to a written Declaration which explained and defended the uprising; about noon this was read from the eastern balcony to the multitude assembled below. Then they sent a letter to Andros urging him to surrender the fort and promising him personal safety if he should do so. In the printed version of this letter the name of Wait Winthrop heads all the signatures.[17] Hesitant at first, the governor gave in before the end of the day and he and his following were taken into custody.

In the course of the next few weeks Massachusetts established a provisional government which should function until William III decreed something different. Under this new government, which was practically a restoration of the charter, Wait Winthrop was placed in command of the militia and given the rank of major-general. Before long he was elected an Assistant and continued to hold that office as long as the provisional government lasted.[18] In 1691 William granted a new charter to the Bay Colony and in it

named Wait as one of the Council which was to surround Governor Phips at the beginning of his administration. This appointment held until the spring of 1693, at which time the General Court might continue him in that office if it saw fit to do so. When the time came, not all of the original Councillors were retained by the Court; but Wait received a handsome vote and he was re-elected annually as long as he lived.

Upon his arrival in Boston in May, 1692, Governor Phips found a number of persons in the vicinity of Salem imprisoned for witchcraft, and it was his duty to bring them to trial. For this purpose he established a court of Oyer and Terminer consisting of nine judges: the lieutenant-governor, William Stoughton, and eight members of the Council. One of the eight was Wait Winthrop. All that summer the trials and executions went on; one of the judges, Nathaniel Saltonstall, objected to the court's methods and withdrew. He was the same Saltonstall who had refused to serve on Dudley's Council six years before. But as far as we know, Winthrop had no misgivings; it was disagreeable business, but it had been assigned to him to do and he went through with it. The Preface to a volume of Winthrop Papers published by the Massachusetts Historical Society in 1882 states that "according to contemporary testimony" he was "inclined to mercy" at the time of the witchcraft trials. The present writer has been unable to find that testimony as far as these trials are concerned; it is true, however, that two or three years earlier either he or his cousin Adam Winthrop recommended leniency towards some pirates who had been condemned to death, and succeeded in getting a reprieve for four out of the five.[19] Having served on the special court at Salem, Wait was appointed a justice of the Superior Court established by Governor Phips in December, 1692. Six or seven years later he was made judge of the Vice-Admiralty of northern New England and New York.[20] Thus he became doubly Judge Winthrop; but his contemporaries seem to have preferred to address him by his military title of Major-General.

In the final decade of the seventeenth century Wait Winthrop found his world a very pleasant place in which to live. He was a man of wealth and position, and in various ways a very useful person. He seldom worried and never hurried. His brother might laugh at him because of his moderation, but that was the way he was constituted and no other mode of action suited him. He made few mistakes and fewer enemies. He had had the misfortune

to lose his wife in 1690, but he was devoted to his children, John and Ann, and delighted in their companionship. Some of his tastes and interests appear in a letter he wrote to his brother Fitz-John, then in England, in the autumn of 1695:

I desire you would bring me a very good camlet cloak, lined with what you like except blue; it may be purple or red, or striped with those or other colors, if so worn; also a good suit from head to foot, such as you like for yourself, fit for summer; with two wigs, one a campaign, the other short; a good hat; also a suit, from top to toe, and hat for John, and another for Ann. John was fourteen last August and is about four foot seven inches high; and Ann is nine years old, four foot two inches high. It must be remembered they are growing, and will be something older when anything comes. You will advise with some of your acquaintance what is suitable and fashionable for them. . . . In my other letters I put you in mind of persuading the Governor to bring horses, if not mares too; also I minded you of bringing some of the best breed of sheep, if convenience serve; also hares, peacocks, pheasants, partridges, and what else you think of which we have not here. Pray inquire about the dipping of leather or cloth to keep out rain; I think I saw it in a print; if it be worth while and cheap, bring a coat of it. Your nephew desires a chess board, a foot rule to double in four; knives or forks, or other knacks not to be had here, you will not forget. I desire you would procure the translation of Glauber's Works, the last edition; also pray do not fail to bring or send about fifty pounds of the most refined saltpeter, and twenty pounds of good tartar free from dust, and about ten pound of vitriolum album.[21]

In the political world serenity prevailed. Governor Phips was succeeded by Lord Bellomont, who detailed most of his Massachusetts duties to Lieutenant Governor Stoughton. Everything went along smoothly until 1701, when both Bellomont and Stoughton died within a few months. Then there was a scramble for the governor's office. There was grave danger that the appointment would go to Joseph Dudley, who was disliked and distrusted by many in the Council. Dudley was in England, and so could pull various strings to get the position. Something must be done to counteract his efforts. The politicians of the General Court soon evolved an ingenious scheme: they would send Wait Winthrop to London,—ostensibly to talk about certain new dangers from the French in Maine, but actually to block Dudley and get himself made governor of the province of Massachusetts-Bay. Though Dudley was artful and had many influential friends in England, Winthrop had family prestige, property, and a winning personality. If anyone could beat Dudley, he was the man! Provided with instructions and all the paraphernalia of a special envoy, Wait Winthrop was on the point of embarking,—when word was received that Dudley had been appointed

governor. The jig was up, and Winthrop's mission ended then and there. The real reason for his going to England no longer existed.[22]

The elevation of Joseph Dudley must have sent shivers down the spine of more than one member of the Council, for at least nine of them, including Wait Winthrop, had been part of the revolutionary government that had put him in jail when Andros was overthrown in 1689 and had held him a prisoner for ten long months! The prospect of political preferment or other favors from his hands was far from good; yet Wait came out pretty well. Dudley allowed his re-election to the Council; and though he lost his position as chief justice, he recovered it five or six years later when his son John married Dudley's daughter Anne. Their wedding occurred on December 16, 1707; in the following February Wait Winthrop was appointed chief justice, and he remained in that office for the rest of his life![23]

A few weeks before his son's nuptials Wait, who had been a widower for seventeen years, married Mrs. Katharine Eyre (née Brattle), a very well-to-do widow. It was a happy arrangement from every point of view and must have gone far in brightening Wait's remaining years. In other ways those years were not altogether cheerful. Fitz-John Winthrop's death in the autumn of 1707 changed many things and necessitated Wait's spending a good part of his time in New London instead of in Boston. He was now the sole proprietor of all that the brothers had held jointly under their father's will, and it was important that he should be in close touch with it. Furthermore, there was friction between him and Fitz-John's son-in-law John Livingston in regard to the interpretation of the will. It was all very tiresome. Wait thought it best for his son John to make his home at New London and gradually take over the management of the property that would ultimately come to him. John did this, but things seem to have gone much better when his father was there too.

These prolonged absences from Massachusetts seem to have hurt Wait Winthrop politically. In the election of Councillors in the spring of 1713 he got so few votes that he, who had been on that board for more than twenty years, failed to be re-elected. This was probably as much of a shock to him as it was to his friend and admirer Samuel Sewall, who wrote in his diary:

> Tis to be lamented that Major General Winthrop had but forty-six and was left out. He was the great stay and ornament of the Council, a very pious, prudent, courageous New England man. Some spread it among the deputies that he was

out of the province and not like to return. (Has been absent since April, 1712, but through sickness.) . . . Thus Mr.Winthrop is sent into shade and retirement while I am left in the whirling dust and scorching sun.

So falls that stately cedar! whilst it stood
It was the truest glory of the wood.

Between May and August one of the Councillors died, and when the General Court met in midsummer it elected Wait to fill the vacancy. This was as it should be; but it did not wipe out all memory of the omission of the previous spring.

Another care was his son-in-law, Thomas Lechmere, who had married his daughter Ann. It was considered a desirable match at the time, for Lechmere came of a good family with influential connections and had a little money of his own, but he lacked either business ability or good luck. Before long he was in debt, and Wait had to come forward and help him out. All this was very disturbing to a man of Winthrop's integrity and good judgment.

The end came on November 7, 1717, after a brief illness. About a week earlier he attended the funeral of Mr. Samuel Phillips and was taken ill immediately afterward. Samuel Sewall went to see him on the evening of the third "and sat with him a considerable time as he lay on his bed." On the seventh Sewall wrote, "Last night died the excellent Waitstill Winthrop, Esq., for parentage, piety, prudence, philosophy, love to New England ways and people very eminent. His son not come, though sent for."

When John did arrive from New London, he made arrangements for the funeral, which was one of the most ostentatious in the history of New England. The services began in the Council Chamber of the townhouse and ended at the Winthrop tomb in the King's Chapel Burying-ground. Throngs of people lined the streets as the elaborate procession of notables, relatives, friends, and militia passed. The expense was prodigious,—about £600. Cotton Mather preached the funeral sermon, which later appeared in print and bore the curious title *Hades Looked Into*. On the Sunday following the funeral young Joseph Sewall of the South Church made Wait Winthrop's life the subject of his sermon. This, too, was printed, but under a happier caption—*The Character and Blessedness of the Upright*.[24]

The Winthrop estate was large and consisted principally of land in Massachusetts, Connecticut, and New York. The most valuable of Wait's Massa-

chusetts holdings were the Elizabeth Islands, off the south coast, which he had bought in 1682; in Connecticut, his chief possession was the homestead farm at New London; in New York were Fisher's Island and a tract on Long Island. As early as 1713 Wait had drawn a will, but for one reason or another he never executed it. The result was that the chief justice of the Province of Massachusetts-Bay died intestate.[25]

A portrait of Wait, which is supposed to have been painted in Boston about 1700, is owned by Robert Winthrop and is reproduced here. There is a copy of it at the Massachusetts Historical Society. The face suggests that Wait was fine-looking rather than handsome, intelligent rather than intellectual, and above all kindly. One can easily imagine him walking along a crooked Boston street, attended by his Indian servant Mingo. He converses with Samuel Sewall or Increase Mather or even Governor Dudley, but that does not prevent him from beaming on almost anyone who looks in his direction for a nod of recognition. He enjoyed his wealth and position, but he never let them create a barrier between him and his fellow townsmen. As Judge Sewall observed, he loved New England ways and New England people.

To appraise a man like Wait Winthrop is not easy. He held so high a place in the regard of his contemporary New Englanders that few, if any, of them would have taken exception to the long and fulsome "Epitaphium" which Cotton Mather appended to his funeral sermon when it was printed. (The epitaph is in Latin, but there is a good translation of it in Robert C. Winthrop's *Life and Letters of John Winthrop*, II. 463.) But fifty years later Thomas Hutchinson, the historian of the Bay Colony, was restrained, to say the least, in singing his praises: "Mr. Winthrop was a good sort of man, and although he was of a genius rather inferior to either of his ancestors, yet he was popular, and the party against Mr. Dudley wished to have him governor." And a little farther on: "Winthrop was a plain, honest man." Hutchinson was apt to be a little cool, but he always tried to be just. Palfrey, the historian of New England, writing a century after Hutchinson, was much less charitable. "Wait Winthrop," he commented, "was a rather feeble person, and something of a courtier." This characterization is so entirely inappropriate that one is inclined to wonder whether Palfrey did not have some one else in mind. However that may have been, the present writer is satisfied that Wait Winthrop was a first-rate citizen and public servant, whose

first thought was always the good of the Colony. He was not a great man, and he would never have claimed to be one. But the qualities of head and heart he possessed made him a great personage in the Massachusetts of his day.

Children, all by his first wife, Mary Browne:

John, born September 12, 1679, died in infancy.

JOHN, born August 26, 1681, became "John Winthrop, F.R.S." See p. 118.

Elizabeth, born May 11, 1683, died September, 1683.

William, born December 4, 1684, died September 25, 1693.

Ann, baptized November 28, 1686, married Thomas Lechmere, of Boston, in November, 1709, and had issue. She died November 22, 1746.

Joseph, born September 10, 1689, died September 27, 1693.

After Wait Winthrop's death, his widow was courted unsuccessfully by Samuel Sewall. Robert C. Winthrop, Jr., made this incident the subject of an entertaining paper entitled *A Difference of Opinion concerning the Reasons Why Katharine Winthrop Refused to Marry Chief Justice Sewall.* It was privately printed at Boston in 1885. Madam Winthrop died on August 2, 1725, and was buried in the South ("Granary") Burying-ground three days later, "in a tomb near the northeast corner." Judge Sewall recorded: "The Escutcheons on the Hearse bore the Arms of Winthrop and Brattle, The Lion Sable. . . . Will be much missed."

References

1. *Report of the Record Commissioners, containing Boston Births, Baptisms, Marriages, and Deaths, 1630–1699*, 11, 13. See also the manuscript records of the First Church in Boston, and Winthrop Manuscripts (Massachusetts Historical Society), 9A. 32.
2. Massachusetts Historical Society *Collections*, Fifth Series, VIII. 401; *New England Historical and Genealogical Register*, XXXI (1877), 424.
3. Massachusetts Historical Society *Collections*, Fourth Series, VII. 466.
4. *Ibid.*, Sixth Series, III. 424–425; Colonial Society of Massachusetts *Publications*, XXXI. 10.
5. Colonial Society of Massachusetts *Publications*, XXIV. 168–169; XXXI. 264–265; Samuel Eliot Morison, *Harvard College in the Seventeenth Century*, 55, 94; Winthrop Manuscripts (Massachusetts Historical Society), 9A. 32.
6. Massachusetts Historical Society *Collections*, Fifth Series, VIII. 382–383.
7. Massachusetts Historical Society *Collections*, Sixth Series, V. xiv; Winthrop Manuscripts (Massachusetts Historical Society), 6. 1; 7. 2; 9A. 33; Massachusetts Historical Society *Collections*, Fourth Series, VII. 549.
8. *Public Records of the Colony of Connecticut*, II. 14; Thomas Hutchinson, *History of Massa-*

chusetts-Bay (1936), I. 245; Massachusetts Historical Society *Collections*, Sixth Series, v. 3.

9. Massachusetts Historical Society *Collections*, Sixth Series, v. 5–6, xiv.
10. In his preface to Cotton Mather's *Hades Look'd Into*, p. v.
11. *Hades Look'd Into*, 40.
12. Massachusetts Historical Society *Collections*, Fifth Series, VIII. 429.
13. Robert Noxon Toppan, *Edward Randolph*, I. 22, 299.
14. John Gorham Palfrey, *History of New England*, III. 511*n.*; Massachusetts Historical Society *Collections*, Fifth Series, VIII. 471.
15. Samuel Eliot Morison, *Harvard College in the Seventeenth Century*, 479; "Leverett's Book of Latin Orations, 1688" (MS.), Oratio 1686, p. 103, in the Harvard University Archives.
16. American Antiquarian Society *Proceedings*, New Series, XIII (1899–1900), 239–268, 463–499.
17. *Andros Tracts*, I. 20.
18. John Gorham Palfrey, *History of New England*, III. 587, 589; IV. 43*n.*, 48*n.*
19. Massachusetts Historical Society *Collections*, Fifth Series, v. 309. Sewall's "Mr. Winthrop" has usually been identified as Wait Winthrop; but the present writer is inclined to believe that he was Adam Winthrop. One of the pirates for whom he tried to obtain a reprieve was Adam[3] Winthrop's stepmother's brother, Thomas Hawkins. George Francis Dow and John Henry Edmonds, *The Pirates of the New England Coast*, 68.
20. *Calendar of State Papers, Colonial Series, America and West Indies, 1699*, 457; *ibid., 1700*, 392.
21. Massachusetts Historical Society *Collections*, Fifth Series, VIII. 512–513.
22. Thomas Hutchinson, *History of Massachusetts-Bay* (1936), II. 96–97.
23. William H. Whitmore, *The Massachusetts Civil List, 1630–1774*, 68.
24. Massachusetts Historical Society *Collections*, Sixth Series, v. 354–364.
25. *Ibid.*, Sixth Series, v. 365–370.

ADAM[3] WINTHROP (*Adam*[2], *John*[1]) was born in Boston, Massachusetts, about October 15, 1647, and was baptized in the First Church on October 31.[1] His mother, Elizabeth Glover, died before he was a year old, and his father died when Adam, Jr., was not quite five. As his father had property but left no will, steps had to be taken to provide for the orphan and for his stepmother, the second Mrs. Adam Winthrop. Accordingly the General Court declared that young Adam was "the true proprietor of the island called Governor's Island in Boston Harbor" but that his stepmother should enjoy the "full thirds" of the profits of the island during her lifetime. The Court then appointed five persons to be guardians of the child, "to take

care for his education, and also of all his estate." Those named were President Dunster, Mrs. Winthrop (during her widowhood), Edward Rawson, Captain Thomas Clarke, and Captain Richard Davenport. They were to manage Adam's affairs until he should be fourteen years old, at which time he might have a guardian of his own choosing.[2]

When the General Court granted Governor Winthrop a sort of perpetual lease of "Conant's Island" (Governor's Island) in Boston Harbor in 1632, two of the conditions were that the lessee should pay a rental of one shilling per year to the Treasurer of the Bay Colony and that his descendants, if they renewed the lease, should pay the governor each year one fifth of the produce raised on the island. Three years later, Winthrop had the latter requirement changed to "a hogshead of the best wine that shall grow there"; in 1640 he had it changed again,—this time to two bushels of apples: "one bushel to the Governor, and another to the General Court in winter,—the same to be of the best apples there growing." Apparently Governor Winthrop believed that the newest terms applied to him as well as to his heirs, for in the records of the General Court for October 7, 1640, we find: "Mr. Winthrope, Senior, paid in his bushel of apples." Presumably his son Adam continued the practice, but the guardians of Adam, Jr., seem to have found it a bothersome detail. According to Samuel G. Drake (*History and Antiquities of Boston*, 364), Edward Hutchinson and John Richards petitioned the Court in October, 1662, "in behalfe of the Orphan Adam Winthrop," asking "that the said penalty may wholly be taken off, considering the small advantage that thereby accrues to the said Court." Drake adds that the petition was granted. Probably he is correct, but the present writer has searched the printed records in vain for any mention of this petition or its outcome. Years later, in March, 1683, Adam Winthrop on his own initiative petitioned for the abolition of the annual charge. The Court granted his request; but seeing an opportunity to get in a little additional revenue, stipulated that he was to pay £5 for being relieved of "the incumbrance aforesaid."[3]

In 1664, when Adam Winthrop was approaching his seventeenth birthday, he entered Harvard College; and in 1668 he graduated with the degree of Bachelor of Arts. Because of the social position of his family his name headed the list of the five members of the Class of 1668 and has remained there in the Catalogue of Graduates ever since. But it does not necessarily

Adam Winthrop
1647–1700

follow that Adam Winthrop was a model student. He was not. In fact he was expelled from the College in the spring of his Sophomore year. Here is the story in President Chauncy's own words, spelling, and punctuation:

> Mason, Hubbard jun. and Winthrop jun. (according to the counsell of the Reverend Elders) were expelled out of the Colledge, and ther names cut out of the tables in the buttry by the order of the Praesident in the presence of all the fellowes, for ther disorder and injurious cariage towards Andrew Belcher in killing, and having stolne ropes in hanging Goodman Sells dogge upon the signe post in the night, which fact was deliberately confessed by one of thes delinquents, before the corporation with the reason moving thereunto: which confession was also attested before his companions, and not denyed in diverse particulars, being pressed by the Reverend Elders about them: besides two of them afterwards corrupted, and seduced the confessor to unsay his confession: and many grosse lyes were told by all, and especially and especially [*sic*] by one of them: and ther were many circumstances and probabilityes attesting ther guiltinesse of thes crimes.[4]

In spite of their heinous offense and the lies they told, all three culprits appear to have been re-admitted to the College in the course of time, for all three are listed among its graduates.

In 1669 Adam Winthrop leased Governor's Island to Sir Thomas Temple; in the following winter he was in London, delivering to the Royal Society some "American curiosities" that his uncle John Winthrop of Connecticut had entrusted to his care;[5] and when next we hear of him he is a merchant in Bristol, England. There he married Mary Luttrell, daughter of Colonel Luttrell, and there his first two children were born: one in 1676, the other in 1678. Adam seems to have done well in Bristol, but he was glad to return to Boston in New England in 1680 and make it his permanent home. It was not long before he was more or less thrust into politics by being elected a constable at town meeting in 1681. This was probably a surprise to him, and an unwelcome one; at any rate he declined to serve. In 1684 and 1685 he was elected and served as Town Commissioner; in 1688 he was chosen a Selectman (polling more votes than Samuel Sewall), and in 1689 he was re-elected to that office.[6]

While Winthrop was serving the town as Selectman, the government of Massachusetts-Bay was going through a momentous period of change. In 1684 the charter of the Colony had been questioned and revoked by Charles II. In 1686 his successor, James II, abolished representative government on our shores and replaced it with a royally appointed executive surrounded by an appointed Council. The first of these executives was Joseph

Dudley; but he was soon superseded by Sir Edmund Andros, an Englishman who had recently been governor of New York. Andros arrived in Boston in December, 1686. Our ancestors endured his harsh and overbearing rule as best they could until April, 1689, when they learned that William of Orange had landed in England and that James II had fled. Then there occurred a popular uprising of such intensity that Andros thought it best to take refuge in the fort on Fort Hill. As the people of Boston were in an angry mood and it looked as if they might go to violent extremes, a group of substantial citizens decided to take the situation in hand. Among them was Adam Winthrop. On the morning of April 19 they assembled at the townhouse, read a declaration to the populace, and then sent a letter to Governor Andros advising him to surrender and promising him safety if he did so. As retreat to the frigate *Rose* lying at anchor in the harbor was cut off by the militia, Andros took their advice and surrendered the fort, himself, and his followers. On the next day the Castle in the harbor was turned over to the insurgents and an arrangement was made whereby the frigate became innocuous. Very briefly this was the Glorious Revolution of 1688 as carried out in New England in 1689. Chief among the leaders of the movement here was Adam Winthrop's first cousin Wait Still Winthrop.

Andros and his associates being thrown out, it was necessary to set up some form of government to conduct the affairs of the Colony until William III should establish something more permanent. The signers of the letter to Andros added to their number a few other prominent citizens, gave themselves the title of "A Council for the Safety of the People and Conservation of the Peace," and assumed the right to give orders for the regulation of the inhabitants. In this administration Adam Winthrop and John Foster were stewards or treasurers. A few weeks later the Council of Safety handed the government over to newly elected representatives of the towns and to the magistrates who had been in office before the Dudley-Andros interlude.

The town of Boston chose Adam Winthrop to be one of its representatives in the General Court of 1689 and elected him again in 1691 and 1692. Though he does not appear to have been so honored in 1690, the General Court recognized his integrity and financial sense by placing him on a committee of five that was entrusted with the issuing of "bills of credit." These were the first paper money issued in any of the British colonies. The necessity for it arose when Sir William Phips returned unexpectedly from an un-

successful expedition against Canada and the Colony had no funds with which to pay his almost mutinous soldiers.[7]

Adam Winthrop was a member of the Second Church in Boston.[8] The minister of that church, Increase Mather, was sent to England in the spring of 1688 to present to James II a petition from the Congregational churches of New England. In the midst of his negotiations the Glorious Revolution occurred and Mather soon found himself dealing with William III instead of with James. In 1690 the Colony appointed him one of four Agents who were to try to obtain the restoration of the charter. This proved to be an impossibility, but William was willing to grant a new charter and did so. In the drafting of this instrument Mather had a considerable hand, and in the naming of the first royal governor and his Council he prevailed entirely. That he thought well of his parishioner Adam Winthrop is clear; for though Adam had never been an Assistant under the old charter, Mather had him appointed a member of the Council under the new one.[9]

So it came about that when the new government was set up in May, 1692, Adam was one of the twenty-eight advisers surrounding Governor Sir William Phips. When he came up for election in May, 1693, however, he lost out; which suggests that he was more highly esteemed by the wise and good than by the politicians in the General Court.

For the remainder of his life Adam Winthrop was content to be a successful merchant and ship-owner, and a pillar of the Second Church. He was distinctly well-to-do and resided pleasantly on the east side of Back Street (now a part of Salem Street), near the corner of Black Horse Lane (now a part of Prince Street).[10] One of his investments or speculations was in land in the incipient town of Worcester, forty-odd miles west of Boston.[11] His substantial holdings there descended to his son Adam, who developed them with considerable vigor. In politics Adam Winthrop was outshone by his cousin Wait, who had a natural gift for winning and retaining popular favor.

Although Adam Winthrop was primarily a hard-headed merchant, he was not without sentiment. Thus, towards the end of 1691, we find him eager to possess a portrait of his grandfather, Governor John Winthrop of Massachusetts-Bay. He made his desire known to his cousin Wait, who passed the word along to Fitz-John: "If you could by very careful hand send the little picture of my grandfather, put carefully up in some little box, here is one would copy it for my cousin Adam; the great one here in the

town-house had some damage, especially in one of the eyes, and he desires to see that [the little one]."[12] The copy which Adam Winthrop had made of the miniature is probably the one now belonging to the American Antiquarian Society in Worcester. It was given to that Society by one of Adam's descendants.[13]

Dr. Halsey De Wolf, of Providence, Rhode Island, owns portraits of both Adam Winthrop and his wife. The former is reproduced here; the latter, in Charles Knowles Bolton's *The Founders*, II. 531. On the canvas of Adam's portrait the unidentified painter printed the following inscription:

Aetatis Suae 33
Anno Domini 1680

Adam died in Boston on August 3, 1700. He was in his fifty-third year. On the following Monday, Wait wrote Fitz-John: "Cousin Adam Winthrop, having languished a good while, did on Satturday about two of the clock take his leave of us, and we are to attend his funerall on Wensday next; he gratly desired to see his son before he died, who is expected every day, but it could not be." Two days later Samuel Sewall wrote in his Diary: "Mr. Adam Winthrop is buried. Bearers Col. Hutchinson, Middlecott, Foster, Eliakim Hutchinson, Col. Townsend, Capt. Dummer. I rode with the Leutenant Governor [Stoughton] in his coach." The burial was in the family tomb in the King's Chapel Burying-ground. His widow married Colonel Joseph Lynde of Charlestown on March 13, 1706. She died on October 15, 1715.

Children:

ADAM, born in Bristol, England, March 3, 1676. See p. 139.

Mary, born in Bristol, England, died in Boston, August 8, 1680.

Mary, born in Boston, May 9, 1683, died October 17, 1739. She married John Ballantine of Boston on March 9, 1704, and had issue. Ballantine and her brother Adam graduated from Harvard College in the Class of 1694.

References

1. *Report of the Record Commissioners containing Boston Births, Baptisms, Marriages, and Deaths, 1630–1699*, 27.

2. *Records of the Governor and Company of the Massachusetts Bay*, edited by Nathaniel B. Shurtleff, III. 292.

3. *Ibid.*, I. 94, 139, 293, 301; V. 398.

4. Colonial Society of Massachusetts *Publications*, XXXI. 340. Andrew Belcher, who owned

the sign post, kept a tavern on what is now the northeast corner of Boylston and Mount Auburn Streets. His brother-in-law, Thomas Danforth, was the Treasurer of Harvard College and a member of the Corporation. Goodman Sell, who owned the dog, was probably Joseph Sill, a son-in-law of Andrew Belcher. The Sill place was a few rods southwest of Harvard Square. Lucius R. Paige, *History of Cambridge, Massachusetts, passim.*

5. Edward Rowe Snow, *The Islands of Boston Harbor*, 188; Massachusetts Historical Society *Proceedings*, XVI (1878), 244.
6. John Langdon Sibley, *Biographical Sketches of Graduates of Harvard University*, II. 248; Robert Francis Seybolt, *The Town Officials of Colonial Boston*, 60, 68, 71, 75, 76; Massachusetts Historical Society *Collections*, Fifth Series, V. 214.
7. Joseph Barlow Felt, *An Historical Account of Massachusetts Currency*, 49–50; Massachusetts Historical Society *Proceedings*, Second Series, XIII. 143. One of the bills is reproduced in Hermann Frederick Clarke's *John Coney, Silversmith*, plate XXXI.
8. Chandler Robbins, *History of the Second Church*, 290.
9. Thomas Hutchinson, *History of Massachusetts-Bay* (1936), I. 349.
10. Annie Haven Thwing, *The Crooked and Narrow Streets of the Town of Boston*, 66.
11. *Records of the Proprietors of Worcester, Massachusetts*, edited by Franklin P. Rice, Part I. 46, 54.
12. Massachusetts Historical Society *Collections*, Fifth Series, VIII. 500.
13. Charles Knowles Bolton, *The Founders*, II. 655; American Antiquarian Society *Proceedings*, New Series, XL (1930), 3–4.

CHAPTER IV

The Fourth Generation

JOHN[4] WINTHROP (*Wait Still*,[3] *John*[2], *John*[1]) was born in Boston, Massachusetts, August 26, 1681. Genealogically he is usually known as "John Winthrop, F.R.S.,"—not because he was the only John Winthrop ever elected a Fellow of the Royal Society, but because it was the highest distinction this one achieved. His grandfather and his cousin, the professor, were also Fellows, but they were eminent men in various other ways as well.

Of the four sons born to Wait Still Winthrop and his wife Mary (Browne), John was the only one to survive early childhood, and his parents can hardly be blamed if they humored him until he became selfish if not actually spoiled. He was not a rugged boy. Furthermore, he lost his mother when he was about nine years old, and without doubt his aunts and other relatives made much of him because they were sorry for him. Thus everything conspired to make him self-centered and egotistical. By the time he entered Harvard College, John was well aware of the fact that his father possessed a considerable fortune and that his generous Uncle Fitz-John had no male descendants. Unless all signs failed, he would, in the course of time, fall heir to a great deal of property. This prospect plus glory that was reflected from his father and uncle, not to mention his grandfather and great-grandfather, made him feel that he was a very important person. If others did not share this sentiment, they were in error. Young John Winthrop never was, and never could be, wrong.

A curious thing occurred when he was admitted to Harvard in the summer of 1696: the unenlightened authorities of that institution "placed" him below Simon Bradstreet. Bradstreet's grandfather had recently been governor of the Colony, and his father had graduated from Harvard in the Class of 1653; on these grounds, it seems, he was accorded his social academic rating at the top of the list of freshmen. Winthrop's *great*-grandfather had, of course, been governor of Massachusetts-Bay, but his father had not stayed at Cambridge long enough to obtain a Bachelor's degree.

All things considered, it was probably correct to give Bradstreet precedence on the College books; but a Winthrop, especially this John Winthrop, who gloried in using a silver beaker his father had presented to the institu-

John Winthrop, F.R.S.

tion,[1] could hardly be expected to take that view. Adam Winthrop, of the Class of 1668, had been granted first place when he was in College; and his son Adam, of the Class of 1694, enjoyed the same distinction in his time. Nevertheless, when it came to John Winthrop *versus* Simon Bradstreet, the College stood its ground, and John remained in second place until his father paid a little extra and had the boy made a fellow-commoner.[2] This did not occur till John was approaching the end of his Senior year, but it had the desired result—and for all time. A fellow-commoner outranked all his classmates (except other fellow-commoners, and in this instance there was none), so John Winthrop's name was moved to the top of the list of the Class of 1700, where it may still be seen in any Quinquennial Catalogue of the graduates of Harvard College. Thus the young man proved (to his own satisfaction, at least) that he was not inferior to any Winthrop who had preceded him at Cambridge and that he was superior to any of his fourteen or fifteen classmates.

There were other indications that he was destined to find a place for himself among the great: among these were "Five very Notable Eclipses of the Sun and Moon" which occurred during the year of his birth, and a comet—"the most wonderful star that ever glittered in the Horizon"—discovered by his father one winter evening several months before he was born.[3] Were not these portents of the greatness of John Winthrop, son of Wait Still Winthrop, nephew of Fitz-John Winthrop, grandson of Governor John Winthrop of Connecticut, and great-grandson of Governor John Winthrop of the Colony of Massachusetts-Bay? They must mean something, and with characteristic egotism young John Winthrop assumed that his coming into the world was the occasion, if not the cause, of these spectacular phenomena.

As a student he behaved no better, and perhaps no worse, than most of his classmates; he broke windows now and then, and his term bills almost invariably included fines for other infractions of academic discipline. But he had a bright mind; and though he wrote in a florid, puerile style, his prose indicated both background and good training in English composition.[4] Incidentally, his handwriting was rather beautiful. He had a sense of humor, too, though it probably did not extend to situations where the joke was on him. That would have been too much to expect of one with his outlook on life. If there were many who saw in him only a bumptious little whipper-snapper, there must have been at least a few who, while admitting

his over-estimation of himself, recognized his intelligence. Among these was his minister and friend, Cotton Mather.[5] Too well bred to be flashy or loud, John nevertheless enjoyed being conspicuous and seldom missed an opportunity to make himself so.

Upon graduating from Harvard in 1700 he travelled throughout New England and was eager to go abroad.[6] He had, as he expressed it, "a most ardent desire of travelling," and in the summer of 1701 it seemed more than likely that he would soon visit England. His father was about to be sent there,—ostensibly as Agent for the Province of Massachusetts-Bay but actually as a candidate for the office of governor, which had recently become vacant. As usual, John thought of himself first and wrote his uncle, Fitz-John, "I am in great hopes my father will accept of the offer the General Assembly have made him. It will be a very advantageous opportunity for me to see the world."[7] It would have been just that, but when news arrived that Joseph Dudley had been appointed governor, the trip was called off. This must have been a great disappointment to John, for he was accustomed to getting anything on which he had set his heart. Instead of going to England, he accompanied his father on a trip to the Elizabeth Islands off the southern coast of Massachusetts. Wait Winthrop had bought these islands twenty years before. In the summer of 1702 John went there with him again and was, let us hope, in a more cheerful mood than a contemporaneous reflection in his Diary would suggest: "Since I came to years of understanding, I have taken a little notice of the affairs of the world, and have found it to be in a most distracted posture, full of confusion. Not a man or any thing constant or true. I am now this present year 1702 twenty-one years old, and in all my life hitherto have never yet found a true friend, one that I could trust. Even my very relations have proved false and betrayed me."[8]

In spite of disillusionment and cynicism, young Winthrop found it worth while to attend Harvard Commencement in the summer of 1703, where he received the degree of Master of Arts. On that occasion he held forth in defense of the proposition that a wound could be cured by the use of sympathetic powder. As usual Winthrop was on the wrong side of the question. No one today would seriously contend that a wound could be cured by treating some article stained with the patient's blood, instead of treating the patient himself. But in 1700 that theory was well established and the topic was one

that appealed to John. From boyhood he had had access to his Grandfather Winthrop's scientific books and papers and he was fascinated by them. He was eager to acquire a great reputation in chemistry or medicine and saw no reason why he should not do so. His interest was genuine; but apparently his motive was largely selfish, for he wrote on one of the pages of his commonplace book, "Secreta secretae Alkymiae secrete servabo."[9] What he craved was glory rather than the advancement of knowledge or service to humanity. In this, as in many other ways, he was very different from his grandfather or his father. But a reflection of this kind probably never occurred to his self-centered mind. What he got, in the course of time, was a very moderate amount of very transient glory.

John was at his best when writing to his uncle, Fitz-John Winthrop, who was easily the first citizen of Connecticut. Not infrequently he visited this uncle at New London, and he was delighted whenever business or pleasure brought Fitz-John to Boston. The two were on more than friendly terms, and doubtless it pleased Fitz-John to be treated like a merry contemporary rather than as a staid relative of the older generation. Though John was apt to address him as "Your Honor," this seems to have been a sort of standing joke between them. The younger man's letters were sprightly and replete with gossip and news; once he amused himself by writing to his uncle in the Mohawk language.[10] Fitz-John may have regarded him as a young puppy, but he must have enjoyed hearing from him.

Between Wait Winthrop and Governor Joseph Dudley there was a political feud of long standing, and until the year 1707 it looked as if there always would be. Winthrop did not trust Dudley, and there was no reason why he should. Thus it must have been a considerable shock to Wait when John announced his intention of marrying the Governor's daughter Ann. It was not easy for him to adjust his mind to the match, though he admitted that Ann Dudley was "a very likely body." While trying to decide what, if anything, he should do about it, he wrote to his brother Fitz-John for advice. When it appeared that Fitz favored the match, things moved rapidly toward a settlement, and on December 16, 1707, John and Ann were married; he was twenty-six, and she was twenty-three.[11]

Ever since graduating from college, John had been restless in Boston; he preferred life in the country, or thought he did, and it was not long before he had an opportunity to experience both the joys and the difficulties of be-

ing a country squire. Two or three weeks before he and Ann were married, his Uncle Fitz-John died and left most, if not all, of his real estate to John's father "and the heirs male of his body forever." This domain included the plantation at New London, a place that John had known and loved from childhood. For a few years after Fitz-John's death Wait Winthrop divided his time between Boston and New London, but the Connecticut estate needed more attention than he could give to it. Parts of the farm began to run down; servants were scarce, and special arrangements had to be made for impecunious tenants. It must have been a great relief to him when John decided to move to New London and take over the management of the property. The transition was made in the summer of 1711 and John became to all intents and purposes lord of the manor.[12]

Unlike most Winthrops, John lacked the knack of getting on with people. He seems to have had few intimate friends in Boston. In New London he did not make a favorable impression, partly because he talked and acted as if it were a great cross to him to have to live so far from Boston and partly because he viewed almost everyone with suspicion. He was convinced that his tenants were dishonest, and he had trouble with his servants. Of his equals, too, he was suspicious,—even of Governor Gurdon Saltonstall, to whom his uncle had been devoted. People irritated him, and he irritated them. In his intercourse with them he seems to have been entirely devoid of either tact or diplomacy. One cannot help feeling sorry for him, because he had a likable side which, unfortunately, he concealed from most of the world. He was chronically out of tune with those around him, except his immediate family. Anyone who disagreed with him was wrong and probably crooked. It did not occur to him that there might be two sides to a question that involved his own interest.[13]

At first Connecticut accepted him at his face value as a Winthrop. He was appointed Justice of Peace and Quorum in the County of New London and sat on the Governor's Council in 1713, but such demonstrations of regard soon became infrequent.[14] Much of his time was taken up with quarrels and lawsuits, and he was convinced that no justice was to be had in Connecticut courts. When he wrote to Cotton Mather about his troubles, he received a sympathetic reply which began as follows:

MY VERY DEAR FRIEND,—It is with unspeakable Dissatisfaction that I have heard something of the Uncivil and Barbarous usage which you suffer from

your *Connecticotians*. I hoped that my strong Applications and Large Remonstrances to your Governour some while ago might have put a period unto them; and he gave me cause to think that there will be nothing wanting in him of a true zeal to do you all possible service. But since your uneasy circumstances do (as I am told) still continue, you must give me leave earnestly to recommend unto you, *A Removal unto this Capital City of our province.*[15]

But John Winthrop had reached a point where he was critical even of Massachusetts. In response to Mather's suggestion he wrote: "I heartily thank you for your kind invitations to return to Boston, the place of my nativity, a city which has many charms and conveniences to render it most agreeable. I lived thirty years in that Province, and had the opportunity to observe the slights and ingratitude of that part of the country to some of its best friends and have known and felt the same in this Colony also. It is a matter of deep meditation with me in this retirement what will become, in the next age, of those churches and colleges which our fathers planted. But few of the people that are now on the stage can tell what was their errand into this wilderness; and what will the next generation be? I might here enlarge into a volume, but you are sensible of the woeful condition of this declining time." Nevertheless, he suggested that he would gladly return to Boston if his duty to his children did not require him to remain in Connecticut and improve his estate.[16]

Among the many territorial possessions of the Winthrop family was a mine of graphite or black lead in the southwest corner of the present town of Sturbridge, Massachusetts, and a zone of unsurveyed land radiating from it for ten miles in every direction. The General Court had granted to John Winthrop, Jr., the hill in which the chief deposit was said to be and had given him permission to buy some land there of the Indians. The region was known as Tantiusques. This was in the autumn of 1644, and within a few weeks Winthrop had completed negotiations with a sachem or two that made him the possessor of a tract "lying north and west, east and south round the said black lead hills for ten miles each way."[17] As far as we know, John Winthrop, Jr., never visited the property; but he and some associates opened a mine, took out more or less ore, and finally gave up the venture as commercially unprofitable. At his death the mine and the surrounding tract descended undivided to his sons Fitz-John and Wait; and when Fitz-John died, in 1707, Wait became the sole owner. As a business proposition, the mine did not interest Wait; but when he learned that townships were being

granted in that remote part of the province, he took steps to prevent his property from being encroached upon. In June, 1715, he petitioned the General Court to confirm his Indian title to the mine and the country round about it. He did not hold out for the original zone with a ten-mile radius; a piece of land six miles square would do. This sounded to him like a modest and justifiable request, but the General Court demurred. It felt that a smaller tract would be enough; if he would select an area *four* miles square, have it surveyed at his own expense, and submit a map of it, the Court would consider granting it to him. Wait Winthrop was a bit disappointed, but he followed the suggestion and sent his son John and a surveyor, young John Chandler of Woodstock, to Tantiusques to "lay out" the tract and make a map of it. So it came to pass that early in the autumn of 1715 John and Chandler and some chainmen made their way through the wilderness until they came to the region which John Winthrop, Jr., had purchased from the Indians more than seventy years before.[18]

Other things being equal, Wait favored a location which would be bounded on the south by the Massachusetts-Connecticut line and on the east by the Quinebaug River, more or less; but if the land in that district was inferior, they would, of course, pick out something else. For his son's general guidance Wait wrote: "They always allow in surveying for the unevenness of the land so many rod to a mile, and where it's mountainous a great deal in proportion, which the men must understand. It's best to include the pond just before the mine to the eastward of it. They say there is a man lives within two or three mile of the mine in the road that goes from New Roxbury to Springfield or Enfield or that way, where you may lodge when you take a view of the land; it's like he can tell you where the best of the land lies, or swamps or ponds or rivers. . . . It's best to encourage him if he will be serviceable and if he fall within us."[19]

When John and Chandler looked the ground over, they found that the section Wait had in mind was "nothing but mountains and rocks, not improvable and scarce worth anything." However, if they disregarded the Court's four miles *square* prescription, they could plot a tract of equivalent area that would include some good land. This they did; the result was a strange geometrical figure which Wait described as "a sort of triangular square." In accordance with his instructions, Chandler made a map of this territory to submit to the General Court; John Winthrop, using Chandler's

as a base, prepared another. Both are now in the library of the American Antiquarian Society, at Worcester. Of the two, John's is the more interesting, because he adorned it with additional legends of his own, such as "Rare fishing in this Pond," "Rich Lead Oar," "A place of good copper Oar," "Iron Mines," "Here is a Heavy Black Stone which is Rich in Tin and D^{na} [silver]," "On this side of the Hill is small Veins of pure Silver," "Granates [*i.e.* garnets] Mountain and a fine sort of Greaish Stone which contain ☉ [gold]." Chandler's legends were much less imaginative,—"Beaver dams," "Great Indian Hunting House," "This hill is full of ruff granate," "Great Swamp," "Old cartway from the mines near Windsor."[20]

Probably it was the original Chandler map, not John Winthrop's embroidered copy, that Wait Winthrop exhibited to the General Court. However that may have been, the Court noted that the tract was not square and declined to grant it to him. Wait was almost discouraged about the whole business; apparently the only thing to do would be to "make new survey that may be square and take in the mine and as much of the best land as it will, and to do it as soon as may be." Wait was far from well and could not attend to it himself. He hoped that John would proceed along the lines he indicated, and he advised him, "If something be not done while I am with you, it will all be lost." But John did not take the hint. Nothing was done, and Wait Winthrop died in 1717 without the satisfaction of seeing his title to the Tantiusques land confirmed by the General Court. More than ten years later, in 1728, the property was re-surveyed and laid out "in a square figure" to conform with the stipulation of the General Court, and title to it was then confirmed to his heirs.[21] Meanwhile John's time was increasingly occupied with other matters more urgent and distinctly less agreeable.

While visiting in Boston in the summer of 1723, John attended a celebration of the anniversary of the accession of George I. There, "before his Honour the Lieut. Governour, and in the presence of divers Gentlemen & Ladies, and several of the Clergy," he uttered extemporaneously the following lines, which appeared in the *Boston News-Letter* of August 15–22:

AD REGEM

To fix the laws, and limits of these colonies;
My humble muse to royal George! now flyes,
Live, mighty King! all Protestants do pray;
This New World too, under your feet I lay:

May peace and plenty, in your kingdoms! triumph round;
To increase your grandeur! yet more worlds be found;
And to your glories! Let there be no bound.

To the author this somewhat incoherent effusion must have seemed good; if not, he would hardly have released it for publication. But to James Franklin, publisher of the young and sensational *New-England Courant*, it was at best ridiculous. Furthermore, this ill-natured elder brother of Benjamin Franklin was critical of anyone whose political or social position was higher than his own. Few things could have delighted him more than an opportunity to take an editorial shot at a Winthrop. The next issue of his paper led off with:

SILENCE!

With wrinkled Brow, and sevenfold Grin, he rose
And mumbled Rhime, more hobbling than his nose.

This was followed by a series of uncomplimentary references to Winthrop's "snout," and an ode that made no more sense than the blundering lines that had provoked it. From the point of view of the present writer, Mr. Winthrop's maladroitness had culminated in his assumption that *he* had the right to lay the New World at the feet of his sovereign; that, of course, reflected his peculiar way of looking at things. Curiously enough, this vulnerable point seems to have escaped James Franklin's notice; at any rate, the *Courant* aimed its ridicule chiefly at his large nose and at the quality of his verses. One begins to understand Winthrop's conviction that Massachusetts was no longer what it once was and his fears for the future of its institutions.

Nor was this the only incident that marred his visit in Boston in the summer of 1723. By the middle of August he had spent several weeks with his brother-in-law and sister, Mr. and Mrs. Thomas Lechmere, at their home in Roxbury, and the time had come for his departure for New London. One morning, when the horses were at the door and John Winthrop, half-sick with jaundice and "filled with a multitude of hurries and confusions," was trying to get started on his journey, an officer appeared with a summons for him to appear before the Probate Court and submit his accounts as administrator of his father's estate; in addition he was arrested and required to produce bail to the amount of £4000 in order to protect Lechmere, who was one of the sureties on his administration bond. This was a rude shock, as well as a great inconvenience to Winthrop, because it was done at the in-

stigation of Lechmere, with whom he supposed he was on very friendly terms. Looking back on the incident four or five years after it occurred, he stated that though he had been staying with the Lechmeres about three months "Mr. Lechmere nor his wife or any one else had not mentioned anything of that nature." Whether his memory was strictly accurate or not, it is true that in all their correspondence previous to this time there is no trace of any unfriendliness on the part of Thomas Lechmere.[22]

The background for Lechmere's unkind act was this. When Wait Winthrop died in 1717 and left no will, John was appointed administrator of his estate. He promptly filed an inventory in the regular manner and then took his time about paying off the debts, filing an account, and making a final distribution between himself and his sister. Under a Massachusetts law she would receive one third of all the property, real as well as personal. For reasons best known to himself, John did little or nothing about dividing up the land at Billerica, Woodstock, and Tantiusques, and the Elizabeth Islands. In order to provide for his sister's immediate needs he sent her money from time to time, and in this way gave her—or thought he gave her—more than her share of the personalty. The situation was complicated by the fact that her husband had a number of creditors. Thomas Lechmere was an amiable gentleman, and was well connected in England where his brother Nicholas had recently been raised to the peerage; but Thomas himself was an unsuccessful merchant, and Winthrop was not eager to have Mrs. Lechmere's inheritance pounced upon by those to whom her husband owed money. It was probably they—or some of them, for they were many—who contrived the scheme that led to Winthrop's summons and arrest in the summer of 1723.[23] They reasoned that the sooner the estate was settled, the sooner they would get some money. This held true for Lechmere as well, but he would hardly have taken such drastic action if he had not been browbeaten into it by other interested persons. He was an easy-going individual, quite lacking in this kind of initiative. Unfortunately he also lacked sufficient backbone to refuse to be the tool of those less patient than himself who plotted against a guest in his house.

Even when he was in normal health and when things were running fairly smoothly, John sometimes flew off the handle, and one can easily imagine the dither he was in when this unexpected contretemps presented itself. He was badly in need of a manager, and his wife's brother, Paul Dudley, came

to his assistance. Dudley was a capable lawyer and a justice of the Superior Court. He persuaded John to sign a power of attorney and give it to his lawyers Messrs. Robinson and Read; this would relieve him of the necessity of staying around Boston and would place the management of his troublesome affairs in competent hands. John was not really fond of Paul Dudley; but Dudley was kind to him on this occasion, and for the moment, at least, John appreciated it. A few weeks later, after his safe return to New London, his suspicious nature whirled him around and he was convinced that he had been "trapped and ensnared" by brother-in-law Paul. Maintaining that Dudley had written the power of attorney, which was probably the case, and that he himself "never read or considered it, but signed it," part of which is unlikely, he tried to persuade a fourth party, the Reverend Eliphalet Adams of New London, to get the "unlawful" instrument away from Robinson and Read and bring it to him.[24] John Winthrop must have been the despair of his lawyers; and the most maddening thing about this client was that in the end he won out by disregarding their advice!

One of the larger creditors of Wait Winthrop's estate was James Bowdoin, of Boston. Soon after Wait's death John, as administrator, was confronted with tremendous bills which were largely the result of the elaborate funeral. In order to meet these he turned to Mr. Bowdoin, one of the richest merchants in New England, and by mortgaging the Elizabeth Islands to him he succeeded in negotiating a loan of £1500; a little later John went to him again, and by giving a bond came away with £460. On both the mortgage note and the bond, Mr. Bowdoin required the signature of Thomas Lechmere as well as that of John Winthrop,—Lechmere representing his wife's interest in the estate. Thus James Bowdoin became virtually the owner of the Elizabeth Islands. But as time went on, Bowdoin began to wonder when Wait Winthrop's estate was likely to be settled and why progress in that direction was so slow. After more than five years had elapsed, the note and bond still remained unpaid; and the prospect of Mr. Bowdoin's getting his money was not improved by a request from John Winthrop for an additional loan of £1500 or £1600. This occurred in the winter of 1722–23 and met with a curt refusal.[25]

James Bowdoin may have been one of the conspirators who engineered the crisis of the summer of 1723; but this is unlikely, for that business was rather underhanded. Bowdoin may have been hard and exacting, but he

was apt to be direct. He did, however, create a situation that resulted in an open break between Winthrop and Lechmere in the following year. In the winter of 1723–24, more than six years after the original loan was made, he decided to take steps to collect it. Instead of suing Winthrop, who was in Connecticut, he threatened his co-signer, Lechmere; Lechmere notified Winthrop and told him that if Bowdoin sued Lechmere, Lechmere would sue Winthrop. Weeks went by and he received no response from New London; furthermore, for some time there had been no remittances to his wife from that quarter. All things considered, Lechmere felt justified in suing his brother-in-law for the settlement of the estate; thus, in the summer of 1724, began the celebrated case of Lechmere *vs.* Winthrop.[26]

As far as Wait Winthrop's Massachusetts property was concerned, even John had to admit that his sister was entitled to receive a third thereof, both personal and real. The colonial statute was clear, and it had been confirmed by the King in Council. Though it was annoying to be pushed into a settlement by his brother-in-law, whom Judge Sewall described as "a nonentity," the outcome in Massachusetts was inevitable. But the situation turned out to be much more serious than that; Lechmere wanted also a third of all the Winthrop lands and personalty in Connecticut. This was a different matter; and though one of the best Boston lawyers advised giving in and assured John that he hadn't a leg to stand on, John maintained that he had at least two.[27] In the first place, the Connecticut realty was not a part of the estate at all; his father had put him in possession of it years before he died and it was common knowledge that the domain which Fitz-John and Wait had inherited from their father was to come down in the family undivided. In the second place, though Connecticut had passed a law similar to that of Massachusetts in regard to the division of intestate estates, the Connecticut law had never been sent to England for royal assent. Until confirmed by the King it was invalid, because it was contrary to the Common Law; under the latter the eldest son would receive all the real estate. Either John Winthrop was smarter than he often appeared to be or John Stone, his Connecticut lawyer, was a man of unusual astuteness; perhaps both. Whatever else John was, he was firm in his resolution to preserve his ancestral lands in Connecticut intact.

At first the Lechmeres won every round in the fight for a division of Wait Winthrop's Connecticut real estate. In June, 1725, September, 1725,

March, 1726, and April, 1726, Winthrop lost every decision, and early in May, 1726, he demanded the right to appeal to the King in Council. This demand was made to the Connecticut Assembly, which dismissed it and reminded Winthrop that one could not appeal to the King except from a decision of the highest court in the Colony. About the same time the Assembly considered a request from Lechmere and granted him power to sell sufficient Winthrop land to pay some of the debts of Wait Winthrop's estate.

Almost beside himself with rage, John Winthrop sat down and wrote a protest so violent that when it was read the Assembly ordered him arrested and brought before it for contempt of authority. This was at Hartford on May 25, 1726, and the sheriff produced him that very day; but the man he brought in was far from chastened or awed. According to the records, Winthrop behaved "insolently, contemptuously and disorderly, not suffering the Honorable the Governour [Talcott] to speak to him without continual interruption, and declaring himself to stand upon a par with the whole Assembly, that he was *coram non judice*, and that they had nothing to do to call him to an account for any contempts, affronts and indignities he had put on this his Majesty's corporation"; as to the protest to which they had taken exception, he meant every word of it and was now going to lay it before the King in Council as an indictment of Connecticut government. Finally the sheriff led him out. Apparently he spent that night and the following day in the custody of Sheriff Pitkin; but during the second night, "without license, and contrary to his word," he eluded his host and headed for New London. Probably the Assembly did not care whether it ever saw him again; to preserve its own dignity, however, it fined him £20 "for his high contempt in the words and behaviour aforesaid."[28]

By this time John Winthrop was convinced that in Connecticut, lawmakers, laws, and courts were all against him. His only hope of obtaining justice lay in appealing to the King in Council, whether the colonial Assembly said he might or not. To England, therefore, he went in the summer of 1726.* Arriving there after "a long, dangerous, and tedious passage," he engaged the services of two prominent members of the bar,—Sir Philip Yorke, who later became Lord Chancellor Hardwicke, and Charles Talbot,

* Under date of Friday, July 22, 1726, Joshua Hempstead recorded in his Diary: "In the forenoon I was at Mr. Winthrop's, taking leave of him again. He went on board Capt. Mork's about 9 o'clock, with a northwest wind and fresh gale, bound for Bristol in Great Britain." New London County Historical Society *Collections*, I. 172.

the solicitor general,—who drew up a brief, and in January, 1727, laid the case before the Privy Council. A few weeks later Winthrop strengthened his position by submitting an indictment of the government of Connecticut on twenty-nine separate counts! This complaint he prefaced with the following explanation: "As your petitioner saw the government there wholly vested in the hands of levelling spirits and anti-monarchical principles . . . your petitioner looked upon it as his particular duty as being the grandson and heir of the person who obtained the grace and bounty of this charter at your Majesty's royal predecessor's hand and which the company have so greatly abused, to come over to England in person to lay these grievances before your Majesty." Jeremiah Dummer, Connecticut's astute Agent at London, was probably taken by surprise, for about the middle of February he wrote to Governor Talcott: "I have just received a summons from a public solicitor to attend at Whitehall on the next Council Day, and make answer to a complaint then to be exhibited by John Winthrop, Esq., against the Government of Connecticut. If you expect me to manage this cause, you must remit me at least a hundred pounds sterling by the first opportunity. Every hearing will cost me forty guineas, and the other side who employ solicitors and attorneys, a great deal more." Upon the receipt of this news Connecticut became alarmed and appropriated the desired amount of money.[29]

If Thomas Lechmere had had any idea how serious the situation was, he would probably have followed his brother-in-law to London, employed the best legal talent available, and instituted a vigorous defense. But things had gone so smoothly for him in the Connecticut courts that he had no reason to expect much trouble in England. When the case was argued before a committee of the Privy Council in December, 1727, the Lechmere side was presented, of course, but probably not so forcefully as it would have been if he himself had been in London at the time. On February 15, 1728, the Privy Council adopted the committee's recommendation that the action of the Connecticut court be declared null and void, and that John Winthrop "be immediately restored and put into the full, peaceable, and quiet possession of all such parts of the said real estate as may have been taken from him under pretence of or by virtue of or colour of the said sentences, orders, acts and proceedings, or any of them; and that the said Thomas Lechmere do account for and pay to the petitioner the rents and profits thereof received

by him or any one under him for and during the time of such his unjust detention thereof."[30]

Winthrop's victory over his adversary—and over Connecticut as well—was complete. Jubilantly he wrote home to his wife, who had remained in Connecticut:

> There was present at the hearing of my case: the Lord President of the Council, the Duke of Devonshire, my Lord Trevor, Lord Privy Seal, the two Lord Chief Justices, the Lord Chancellor, Sir Robert Walpole, Lord Treasurer, the Master of the Rolls, my Lord Hay, my Lord Finlater, Chancellor of Scotland, Archbishop of York, Archbishop of Canterbury, my Lord Bishop of London, and a full Council Board; and a very numerous auditory of knights and gentlemen, who with one voice cried, "Shame on the New England colonies." And I thank my God, who has kept my virtue and showed my innocence to the world. And as I was so openly insulted and brought to the bar of the Connecticut court, I am at length so honourably and publicly acquitted before the highest court of the kingdom. And though you were disregarded and obliged to dine alone on the Connecticut Thanksgiving Day, yet now rejoice openly. And though Mr. Agent D. (who is reckoned crazy and in a strange distempered way) has given himself such airs as to write that I was so obscure, and not known in England, and that my ancestors was forgotten, yet I must tell you that he never appeared himself; but the Lords said, "What a strange, mad sort of people are these, that are endeavoring to hurt a family that founded them!" After which I had the honour to kiss his Majesty's hand, being introduced by the Right Honourable the Lord in waiting.[31]

At last John Winthrop had found his proper milieu; and though he had left in Connecticut a devoted wife and seven children ranging in age from three to seventeen years, he never revisited his native New England. While she took charge of the difficult business of recovering the land that had been appropriated by the Lechmeres, he enjoyed life in London and made many pleasant and valuable acquaintances. Boston had never appreciated him; Connecticut had persecuted him; but in London he was called "Governor Winthrop" and was treated with great respect.[32] In one way or another he came to know a few members of the Royal Society, of which his grandfather, John Winthrop, Jr., had been a distinguished Fellow. In New England he had been an assiduous collector of specimens of almost anything connected with natural history, especially minerals. Like his grandfather he had, from time to time, presented the Royal Society with several curiosities from the New World, and doubtless these contributions served as an introduction to Englishmen whose interests were like his own. At any rate, in January, 1733/34, President Sir Hans Sloane and three other Fellows recommended him for membership in the Society, describing him as "a person well skilled

in Natural Knowledge and particularly in Chemistry." His election followed in April, and under June 27, 1734, the Journal records, "Mr. Winthrop presented several curiosities from New England, as contained in the following list, which being read he had the thanks of the Society, they being 364 articles as appears by the Catalogue of them in the same Journal-book, page 459 etc." The historian of the Royal Society refers to these as "highly valuable collections in zoölogy, mineralogy and botany, from America," and adds that at the same meeting Mr. Winthrop "communicated important geographical information respecting his country."[33]

A good part of the list has been printed in the *American Journal of Science and Arts* (XLVII. 282–290) and elsewhere, and it is easy to smile at some of the items. Nevertheless, it was an important accession to the museum of the Royal Society, being the second largest collection received up to that time. Furthermore, one of Winthrop's specimens led to the discovery, about 1800, of a metallic element, which was named Columbium in honor of the land from which it came. The discovery was made by the chemist, Charles Hatchett, who was experimenting on "a dark-coloured heavy substance" which "had been sent, with various specimens of iron ores, to Sir Hans Sloane, by Mr. Winthrop of Massachusetts."[34] All things considered, it was not inappropriate that the Royal Society should dedicate to this John Winthrop volume XL of its *Philosophical Transactions*, which was published in 1741. The dedication includes a sentence that must have warmed Winthrop's heart: "The extraordinary Knowledge you have in the deep Mysteries of the most secret *Hermetic Science* will always make you esteemed and courted by learned and good Men." Winthrop gave a copy of this volume, beautifully bound, to the Harvard College Library. The inscription, in his own handwriting, reads: "Presented, To the publick Library of Harvard College, at Cambridge in New-England; by their [*sic*] very Affectionate and most Obedient, humble Servant J: Winthrop." It is now preserved in the Houghton Library.

The continued presence of Mr. Winthrop in London was the source of considerable anxiety to the government of Connecticut and to its Agents, Jeremiah Dummer and Jonathan Belcher. Whenever the Colony wished special dispensation, his opinion was likely to be asked—and his opinion was sure to be unfavorable. Furthermore, his complaint of twenty-nine articles was on file and there was no telling when it might be brought out and acted

upon. Probably Belcher was correct when he wrote Governor Talcott of Connecticut, "I find Mr. Winthrop full of wrath and prejudice against Connecticut, and I believe now endeavouring to do them all the ill offices in his power."[35] But after all, who had more reason than he to feel vindictive?

To try to administer the Elizabeth Islands from London would have been an almost hopeless undertaking for anybody, and John Winthrop soon made up his mind to get rid of that part of his landed inheritance. Hearing that Dean Berkeley had bought property at Newport, Rhode Island, and was contemplating founding a college, he offered the Islands to him for "a penny worth"; but before hearing from the Dean—who was then living at Newport—he sold the archipelago to James Bowdoin. The deed, made out to Mr. Bowdoin's agent, John Wilkinson, was signed in 1730. It will be remembered that ever since 1717 the Boston merchant had held a substantial mortgage on that portion of the Winthrop domain; nevertheless, there was an equity of more than £2000 sterling, which the seller was probably very glad to get in,—for the procedure that led to his victory over Lechmere had been highly expensive.[36]

As time went on, Mr. Winthrop began to think about the lead mine at Tantiusques as a possible source of income. By the summer of 1737 he had succeeded in interesting at least three persons in a scheme to work the mine to the extent of 500 tons of black lead and to provide for its transportation and sale in European markets. Winthrop, as owner, engaged a Swedish ex-sea-captain named John Morke to take charge of the operation of the mine; he got a young London merchant named Samuel Sparrow to invest £1000 in the enterprise, in return for which Sparrow was to receive one-eighth of the net proceeds from the sale of the 500 tons of black lead. Another investor, a sort of silent partner, was a London minister, Jeremiah Hunt, D.D.

Winthrop was misinformed as to the market price of black lead on the Continent, and so the venture rested on a false basis from the very beginning. In the summer of 1737 Morke and Sparrow sailed for New England, and after a stormy voyage of nine weeks arrived in New London. From there they went to Tantiusques. About a year later Sparrow returned to England with approximately a ton and three quarters of black lead, which proved to be inferior to English black lead and salable at not more than a third of the price he had counted on. Winthrop couldn't, or wouldn't, believe the disappointing news; Sparrow must be either mistaken or dishon-

est. Instead of being depressed, he wrote cheerily to Morke, who was still at Tantiusques, assuring him that the black lead sent over was not only "the best that is known in the world" but that it had the additional merit of containing "a fifth part silver." (A few months later a London assayer reported, "The Black Lead Silver Ore holds about one Nineteenth part, but it is very hard to Seperate; and I reckon that the value of the Black Lead lost in the operation is more than the value of the Silver.")

In the summer of 1740 Sparrow made another trip to Connecticut, and returned several months later with another batch of black lead; but the results were still disheartening. Then followed a series of disagreements and lawsuits between Winthrop and each of his associates, in the course of which Morke referred to his employer as "the fag-end of the old Honourable John Winthrop, Esq.," and to himself as a descendant of Tycho Brahe, the renowned Danish astronomer.[37] The whole business does not appear to have reflected much credit on John Winthrop, F.R.S., yet the courts—even the Connecticut courts—decided each case in his favor.*

Early in these years of self-imposed exile Winthrop found time to visit Groton Manor, the ancestral estate in Suffolk which his great-grandfather had given up almost a hundred years before in order to found the Colony of Massachusetts-Bay. Journeying thither in the spring of 1728, he first spent two or three days at Cambridge, where he caught a glimpse of the King and saw various students receive their degrees in the royal presence.[38] Towards evening, on April 27, he rode from Lavenham to Groton, where, he tells us, "we found Mr. Waring, Lord of the Mannour, who lodged at Mr. Hasley's, the vicar, where we lay." On the following day, Sunday, "The bells rang for joy of our arrival. We viewed the Ancient House, arms in the windows, the House and Church, the Tomb, and adjacent Lands. Took a whett [an appetizer] at the Flees in Boxford and went to Church." As this visit was one of the great occasions in Winthrop's life, it may be well to quote in full his Journal for the brief remainder of the trip:

29. Monday. Went to John Gurdon's, Esq., at Eason [Assington] Hall, being two miles, and returned in the Evening. There we see the ancient picture of the ancestor of my family, and were told there was another at Graces in Essex, near little Baddow, at Madam Waterson's, who was of the family of the Mildmays.

* About forty years later it was said that Winthrop "lost about £10,000 by working the mine"; but this sounds like a gross exaggeration, even though his legal expenses may have been heavy. Connecticut Historical Society *Collections*, XXIII. 216.

30. Tuesday. Visit some of the neighbours. Further viewed the neighbouring parts, and concluded the day with dancing, musick, and mirth.

May 1. Wensday. Before I sett out. Call on Esquire Gurdon and went to breakfast to Capt. Pelham's at Sudbury, being five miles. Dined there splendidly and went on to keldon, *als* Kelvedon. Lay at the Angel there.

2. Thursday. It being rainy we dined there and then took leave of Mr. Waring, who accompanied us thus far. Lay at the Spread Eagle, the post house in Ingalstone, being fifteen miles.

3. Friday. Dined at the Angel and Crown in Illford, and gott safe to London in the evening. *Laus Deo.*

Toward the end of his twenty years of residence in London, Mr. Winthrop made his home in the parish of St. Mary-le-bone, where a Mrs. Henrietta Hyde took care of him. She was his first cousin once removed, and the widow of Nathaniel Hyde, of Harriott, in Hampshire. His address was "Wellbanck Street near Oxford Chappell," and he assured one of his children "it is as airy at this End of the Towne as it is in America."[39] In the spring of 1742 he was joined by his son, John Still Winthrop, who was then about twenty-two years old and had recently graduated from Yale College. The younger man remained with his father until the latter died, August 1, 1747, "after a Long and Tedious Illness, the Palsie accompanied with a feaver"; his death occurred at Sydenham in Kent, and he was buried "in the churchyard near the roadside" at Beckingham in the same county. According to his son, "he was very desirous of seeing his friends and dying in his native country, but the Almighty had ordered it otherwise." About three years later, September 30, 1750, his widow married Jeremiah Miller, a prominent citizen of New London; she died on May 29, 1776, aged 91.[40]

The portrait of John Winthrop, F.R.S., reproduced here is a pastel, done in England by an unidentified artist; it is owned by Robert Winthrop, of New York. Mr. Winthrop has also a portrait done in oil; of this there is a copy at the Massachusetts Historical Society. The same is true of a portrait of his wife, Ann Dudley Winthrop. A Bible that once belonged to John Winthrop, F.R.S., is on deposit at the Massachusetts Historical Society. In the family it was always known as "The Silver Bible" because of its silver cover "apparently of Dutch make and representing scenes in the life of Esther." The book was printed at Oxford, the Old Testament in 1680, and the New Testament in 1682. "The cover," wrote Robert C. Winthrop, Jr., "has been much admired by experts, some of whom have gone so far as to attribute it to Benvenuto Cellini."[41]

Children:

Mary, born September 18, 1708, married Joseph Wanton, of Newport, subsequently governor of Rhode Island and Providence Plantations, August 21, 1729, and had issue. She died February 25, 1767. A portrait of her by Robert Feke is now in the Redwood Library in Newport, Rhode Island. The Massachusetts Historical Society has a copy.

Anne, born December 13, 1709, remained single and died June 19, 1794.

Katherine, born March 9, 1711, married (1) her cousin Samuel Browne, of Salem, March 30, 1732; and (2) Major Epes Sargent, of Gloucester, August 10, 1744. She had issue by each marriage and died at Salem, January 10, 1781.

Rebecca, born January 11, 1713, married Gurdon Saltonstall, son of Governor Gurdon Saltonstall, of Connecticut, March 15, 1733, and had issue. She died October 30, 1776.

Elizabeth, baptized April 25, 1714, died September 12, 1714.

John, born April 20, 1716, died February 15, 1717. A broadside lamenting his death may be found in the Winthrop Manuscripts (Massachusetts Historical Society), 88. 99; the verses were composed by Samuel Sewall.

Margaret, baptized January 26, 1718, married Jeremiah Miller, Jr., of New London, in 1743, and had issue. She died in 1803.

John Still, born January 15, 1720, died June 6, 1776. See p. 154. All the members of the Winthrop Family now living are descended from him.

Basil, born August 21, 1722, and baptized on his father's birthday, stayed in New London, helped run the farm, and died without issue January 21, 1771.[42] The name Basil derives from the Greek word meaning "kingly," and therefore must have been especially attractive to John Winthrop, F.R.S. As far as the present writer knows, no other Winthrop was ever named Basil.

References

1. Winthrop Manuscripts (Massachusetts Historical Society), 9A. 32.
2. Clifford K. Shipton, *Biographical Sketches of Those Who Attended Harvard College in the Classes 1690–1700*, 536.
3. Winthrop Manuscripts (Massachusetts Historical Society), 9A. 31.
4. Massachusetts Historical Society *Collections*, Fifth Series, VIII. 571–572.
5. *Ibid.*, Fourth Series, VIII, *passim.*
6. Winthrop Manuscripts (Massachusetts Historical Society), 9A. 32.
7. Massachusetts Historical Society *Collections*, Fifth Series, VIII. 572.
8. Daniel Ricketson, *The History of New Bedford*, 351.
9. Winthrop Manuscripts (Massachusetts Historical Society), 9A. 4.
10. Massachusetts Historical Society *Collections*, Fifth Series, VIII. 571–572; Sixth Series, III. 333–336; V. 99.
11. *Ibid.*, Sixth Series, III. 396–398; V. 152.

12. *Ibid.*, Sixth Series, v. 234, 238–243. The house and its surroundings are clearly shown on a contemporary chart of the New England coast which is reproduced in *Report of the Superintendent of the U. S. Coast & Geodetic Survey . . . June, 1890*, illustration 71; see also 775–777.
13. *Ibid.*, Sixth Series, v. 350*n.*, 353*n.*
14. *Public Records of the Colony of Connecticut, 1706–1716*, 369, 390, 392.
15. Massachusetts Historical Society *Collections*, Fourth Series, VIII. 430.
16. *Ibid.*, Sixth Series, v. 384*n.*
17. *Records of Massachusetts Bay*, II. 82; American Antiquarian Society *Proceedings*, New Series, XIV. 474–475.
18. Massachusetts Historical Society *Collections*, Sixth Series, v. 297–299; *Acts and Resolves of the Province of the Massachusetts Bay*, IX. 407.
19. Massachusetts Historical Society *Collections*, Sixth Series, v. 299, 312–313.
20. *Ibid.*, Sixth Series, v. 299; American Antiquarian Society *Proceedings*, New Series, XIII. 113; XIV. 483–486.
21. *Acts and Resolves of the Province of the Massachusetts Bay*, XI. 379.
22. Massachusetts Historical Society *Collections*, Sixth Series, v. 405, 406, 446–447.
23. *Ibid.*, Sixth Series, v. 400*n.*, 402*n.*, 446; Edward Channing, *History of the United States*, III. 500.
24. Massachusetts Historical Society *Collections*, Sixth Series, v. 406-407.
25. Massachusetts Historical Society *Collections*, Sixth Series, v. 357–364; Amelia Forbes Emerson, *Early History of Naushon Island*, 127, 188; Winthrop Manuscripts (Massachusetts Historical Society), II. 132.
26. Massachusetts Historical Society *Collections*, Sixth Series, v. 409; Winthrop Manuscripts (Massachusetts Historical Society), 9. 123.
27. Edward Channing, *History of the United States*, III. 499; Massachusetts Historical Society *Collections*, Sixth Series, v. 412.
28. *Public Records of the Colony of Connecticut*, VII. 20, 574–576, 43, 44; Connecticut Historical Society *Collections*, v. 406.
29. Winthrop Manuscripts (Massachusetts Historical Society), 10. 144; Massachusetts Historical Society *Collections*, Sixth Series, v. 440*n.*; *Acts of the Privy Council, Colonial Series*, III. 139; VI ("The Unbound Papers"), 173; Connecticut Historical Society *Collections*, IV. 90; *Public Records of the Colony of Connecticut*, VII. 122.
30. *Acts of the Privy Council, Colonial Series*, III. 140, 150; *Public Records of the Colony of Connecticut*, VII. 579.
31. Massachusetts Historical Society *Collections*, Sixth Series, v. 509–511.
32. Thomas Hutchinson, *History of Massachusetts-Bay* (1936), I. 15*n.*
33. Massachusetts Historical Society *Collections*, Third Series, X. 121–122. Charles Richard Weld, *A History of the Royal Society*, I. 471.
34. Royal Society *Philosophical Transactions*, XCII (1802), 49–66.
35. Connecticut Historical Society *Collections*, IV. 166.
36. Amelia Forbes Emerson, *Early History of Naushon Island*, 124–135.

37. American Antiquarian Society *Proceedings*, New Series, XIV (1900–01), 486–495; Winthrop Manuscripts (Massachusetts Historical Society), 9. 61.
38. Winthrop Manuscripts (Massachusetts Historical Society), 9. 61.
39. American Antiquarian Society *Proceedings*, New Series, XIV (1900–01), 487; *New England Historical and Genealogical Register*, XXVII (1873), 420; Winthrop Manuscripts (Massachusetts Historical Society), 9. 63.
40. Winthrop Manuscripts (Massachusetts Historical Society), 9A. 58, 9. 146; New London County Historical Society *Collections*, I. 556.
41. Massachusetts Historical Society *Proceedings*, LIV. 1.
42. Winthrop Manuscripts (Massachusetts Historical Society), 1B. 42; New London County Historical Society *Collections*, I. 124 *et passim*.

ADAM[4] WINTHROP (*Adam*[3], *Adam*[2], *John*[1]) was born in Bristol, England, on March 3, 1676;[1] his father lived there for about a decade and was a prosperous merchant. About 1680 the family returned to Boston in New England, and in the course of time Adam entered Harvard College with the Class of 1694. As a student in that institution he behaved pretty well—far better than his father had behaved when *he* was an undergraduate—and in the summer of 1694 he received the degree of Bachelor of Arts. His social position, if nothing else, placed him at the top of the list of eight boys who were graduated in that year; and in every Catalogue of Graduates published from that day to this the name of Adam Winthrop has taken precedence over that of any of his classmates. Three years later he received the degree of Master of Arts. This sequel to the Bachelor's degree required little effort on his part; all he had to do was to lead a respectable life for three years, appear at the Commencement exercises in 1697, and be prepared to defend a thesis. The topic upon which he held forth was the negative side of the question, "Can Jesuits be good [British] subjects?"[2]

When Adam was about to revisit England, his native land, in 1699, his cousin Wait Winthrop entrusted him with a letter to Sir Henry Ashurst. Sir Henry was Agent for the Province of Massachusetts in England and a man of considerable influence in political circles in London. "This comes to you," wrote Cousin Wait, "by my near kinsman, Mr. Adam Winthrop, who has taken his degrees at our college, and has since betaken himself to merchandising; he is son to a very honest, good man, who has a capable estate to farther him therein; he has relations of good consideration by his

mother's side in England, and is sober and well inclined, and your countenance to him (being a stranger), so far as you shall observe he may deserve it, will still add to the obligations I am so deeply under all ready."[3] This was a good description of Adam at the age of twenty-three, and Wait Winthrop's recommendation plus the fact that he was a parishioner of Increase Mather, whom Sir Henry knew and esteemed, must have made him a welcome "stranger" when he delivered the letter.

In the summer of 1700 Adam returned to Boston and learned that his father had died shortly before his arrival.[4] The young man who had been a merchant now found himself a capitalist,—for Adam, Sr., left a large estate and only two surviving children, Adam and his seventeen-year-old sister Mary. Sometimes one is inclined to wonder if it would not have been better for Adam if he had had to make his way in the world. As things were, he ceased to be an active merchant and became instead a speculative investor.

On November 7, 1700, three months after his father's death, Adam was married at Ipswich to Ann Wainwright of that town.[5] She was the eighteen-year-old daughter of John and Elizabeth (Norton) Wainwright. Her father was a man of property, and the Wainwright family had been identified with Ipswich since 1635. The Adam Winthrops made their home in Boston, and for almost fifteen years Adam managed to keep out of politics; this required firmness on his part, for his fellow-citizens frequently elected him to this office or that—from constable to moderator of town meeting—and he consistently declined to serve. However, when Boston elected him one of its representatives in the General Court, in May, 1714, he accepted.[6]

Meanwhile his interests seem to have been military rather than political. When he was not more than eighteen he joined the Artillery Company in Boston and became successively ensign, lieutenant, and captain. In the Boston regiment of the militia he was major in 1706 and lieutenant-colonel in 1709.[7] Around town he was usually known as Colonel Winthrop. In the summer of 1707 he was sent down to Hull to quiet a mutiny among the soldiers there. These men had been called out to assist in a second attempt to capture Port Royal (Annapolis), Nova Scotia, from the French. The first attempt, which was made in the spring, had ended most ingloriously and a great clamor was raised against the commanders when the news reached Boston. One of these officers was Colonel Francis Wainwright, an uncle of Mrs. Adam Winthrop. The trouble down at Hull centered in the militia

from Plymouth Colony; they had no enthusiasm for this proposed mid-summer expedition to Nova Scotia, and they were not hesitant about saying so. By the time Adam got down there more than a hundred of them "had quitted their posts and was gone home"; as the rest seemed likely to follow their example, Major Winthrop had them brought up towards Boston and confined in the Castle (Fort Independence).[8]

Two or three years after Adam married Ann Wainwright, that lady's sister Lucy married Paul Dudley, son of Governor Joseph Dudley. Probably this family connection had something to do with Adam's appointment as Commander of the Castle,—for, as Governor Belcher pointed out a few years later, "the governors of this Province have always given the command of the Castle to what friend they pleased." Furthermore, Governor Dudley stood by him when Colonel William Tailer tried to supersede him. But Colonel Tailer was insistent. He had been an officer in the successful expedition against Port Royal in 1710, and had been appointed lieutenant-governor of Massachusetts-Bay in the following year; determined to be appointed Commander of the Castle, he appealed to England and won.[9] After this contest Adam Winthrop seems to have lost interest in military affairs as far as they concerned himself.

In 1714, 1715, and 1716 the town of Boston elected Adam Winthrop to be one of its representatives in the General Court. For two years he served his fellow townsmen in this capacity and was on the committee entrusted with the building of Boston Light, at the entrance to the harbor; but at the beginning of the third year the House elected him to the Council, where he was to be one of the three members whose duty it was to represent "the territory formerly called the Province of Maine." This was a logical place for him because he had recently become a partner in the Pejepscot Company which owned a large tract of land near Brunswick. He continued to be a Councillor of this variety until 1719. In that year and the following he was not re-elected to the Board; but he was returned to it in 1721 as a Massachusetts-Bay member, served for six consecutive years, and then, after an interval of one year, served for two more (1728–30). Probably he would have liked to be re-elected to the Council as long as he lived, but his political career ended in 1730.[10]

Back in 1715 Adam Winthrop had been appointed a justice of the Suffolk County Inferior Court of Common Pleas. In this office he functioned

continuously for more than twenty-five years, and was the chief justice of that court during the last twelve months of his tenure. Unlike some of his contemporaries, he got along well with Governor Belcher, who appointed him a special justice of the Superior Court for two or three cases that came up in 1733 and tried to have him appointed lieutenant-governor,—to succeed William Tailer, who died in 1732.[11] Jonathan Belcher usually got what he wanted, but in this instance he failed to do so: Spencer Phips, not Adam Winthrop, was appointed lieutenant-governor. The governor was so disappointed and displeased that he would not allow Phips to take part in the meetings of the Council, though heretofore any lieutenant-governor had been a member of that board *ex officio*.

Early in 1732, about a year and a half after the General Court declined to re-elect him to the Council, Colonel Winthrop came very near an open break with the House of Representatives. The House, it appears, was considering a petition from "Nathaniel Cunningham of Boston, Merchant, Attorney to Samuel Swasey of Salem, Shipwright, setting forth sundry Difficulties he has met with, and doth still labour under, in prosecuting an Action by him brought at His Majesty's Inferiour Court of Common Pleas held at Boston, for the County of Suffolk . . . against the Honourable Nathaniel Byfield, Judge of Vice-Admiralty, praying Relief in the Premises, as the Court shall see meet." Of that Court of Common Pleas Adam Winthrop was one of the justices, and quite properly the House postponed definite action on Mr. Cunningham's petition until it had heard the Court's side of the story. It ordered the petitioner to supply Justices Palmer and Winthrop with a copy of the petition "so that they may shew Cause, if any they have, on Tuesday next, at Three o'Clock in the afternoon, why the Prayer thereof may not be granted." All this sounds innocuous enough to us, but to Judge Winthrop it did not. When he received the copy and the vote he sat down and wrote the kind of letter one sometimes likes to write but seldom sends. It must have been all of fiery, for when it was read, the House "after some debate" ordered "That Adam Winthrop, Esq., be acquainted that this House have received his said Letter, (wherein they observe Words affrontive to them) and that they have appointed a Committee for the Purpose aforesaid, before whom he may have an Opportunity of being heard, (if he see Cause) at Ten o'clock to Morrow Morning, in Order to vindicate himself from what is alledged against him in the said Petition."[12] If Winthrop

told the House of Representatives to mind its own business, his words seem to have produced the desired effect,—for we hear no more of Nathaniel Cunningham and his grievances.

In 1714 Adam Winthrop became a member of a group that acquired a fairly large tract of land in Maine, near the junction of the Androscoggin and Kennebec rivers. This was the so-called Pejepscot Company, which founded Brunswick and Topsham. Among the other proprietors the most prominent were Thomas Hutchinson, of Boston, and John Wentworth, of Portsmouth, New Hampshire. In 1715 the General Court confirmed their purchase, "with a Saving for any and all other Grants, Titles, Interest or Estates that may be found within the same & perticularly that of Harvard College,"—a provisional clause that was destined to involve Adam Winthrop in a lawsuit with his *alma mater*. The company's title to the land was not exactly strong, but the proprietors proceeded vigorously with their plans for promoting settlements there. With the aid of a generous subsidy from the Province they built at Brunswick a substantial stone fort, which they named Fort George; and, what is more, they persuaded the government of Massachusetts to maintain a garrison of fifteen men in it.[13] They bought a sloop, and built at least two sawmills. At a meeting held in Boston on February 21, 1716, they voted to have a ton of hay sent to Brunswick "for the use of our cattle there," and ordered that other commodities that had been requested be shipped to their servant James Irish. During the week in which this meeting occurred the following advertisement appeared regularly in the *Boston News-Letter*:

> The Sloop Pejepscot will be ready to Sail from hence for Brunswick (the New Town joyning on Casco Bay) in a Week or Ten Dayes, and will be passing backwards and forwards between this place and that all summer; wherein Persons, who shall agree with the Proprietors to Settle there, may with their Effects be transported Fraight-free. Enquire of *Adam Winthrop* and *Oliver Noyes Esqrs.* . . .

At their April meeting the associates granted Colonel Winthrop the privilege of choosing some island, neck, or tract of land, before the others drew lots for their portions of the domain. It is safe to imagine him traveling up and down the Pejepscot patent in the spring or summer of 1716, or cruising along its shores, for in September it was announced that he had chosen Swan Island in the Kennebec River, which was granted to him forthwith.[14] These early American Winthrops seem to have found islands peculiarly at-

tractive: Governor Winthrop of Massachusetts-Bay was glad to acquire Governor's Island in Boston Harbor and half of Prudence Island in Narragansett Bay; his son, Governor Winthrop of Connecticut, rejoiced in his ownership of Fisher's Island near New London; and now Colonel Adam Winthrop placed Swan Island ahead of any thousand acres of mainland to be found in the vicinity of Brunswick, Maine. It was, and still is, a very beautiful bit of territory; early in the nineteenth century it became the summer home of Thomas Handasyd Perkins.[15]

It is a long, narrow island, about four miles in length and a scant mile wide, lying midstream in the Kennebec between the towns of Bowdoinham and Dresden; being green and hilly, it adds much to the beauty of the surrounding landscape. In 1718 Winthrop renamed it Garden Island, probably because it reminded him of Governor's Island in Boston Harbor, which he had inherited and which the Winthrop family usually referred to as "the Garden." He also named Little Swan, a small island between Swan and the eastern bank of the Kennebec, Pasture Island. These changes were made on the recommendation of a committee of the proprietors,—Noyes, Minot, and Winthrop,—at a meeting held on Swan Island on the sixth day of May.[16] But place-names, once established, are not easily discarded or altered; these two islands are still called Swan and Little Swan, and probably always will be.

In the same year, and perhaps on the same expedition to Maine, Colonel Winthrop and two of his associates escorted aristocratic Robert Temple to the Pejepscot tract and hoped very much to interest him in it. Temple was worth a good deal of effort, for he was a young Englishman of family and he aspired to plant a colony of Scotch-Irish in New England—of which colony he would be the resident proprietor. He carried out his design, but not in the Pejepscot domain; unfortunately he was more attracted by the country east of the Kennebec, which belonged to another group of Bostonians. In spite of this disappointment, Adam Winthrop named a strip of land near the Chops—where Merrymeeting Bay discharges its accumulated waters into the estuary of the Kennebec—Temple Bar, as a compliment to him. At that time neither man could have dreamed that twenty-five years later this Robert Temple would be the owner of "Ten Hills," the original Winthrop farm on the Mystic near Boston, or that one of his granddaughters was destined to marry a Winthrop (Thomas Lindall[6] Winthrop). But both of those things came to pass before the eighteenth century had run its course.[17]

Even without Temple and his shiploads of immigrants, Brunswick progressed fairly rapidly. By 1722 there were at least forty-one settlers there, most of whom were heads of families. Then came a catastrophe: in June of that year Indians came down the Kennebec in large numbers, captured nine families at Merrymeeting Bay, and set fire to and entirely destroyed the village of Brunswick, including "Col. Winthrop's mill and mill house."[18] From that time on Colonel Winthrop found his Pejepscot interests to be more trouble than they were worth.

For years Harvard College disputed the claim of Colonel Winthrop and his associates to Merriconeag Neck, the present town of Harpswell. As the College got its grant from the General Court in 1683 and with no conditions attached to it, it is difficult to see why its case was not considerably stronger than that of the Pejepscot partners. Their title, to be sure, had been confirmed by the General Court in 1715, but subject to all other grants "perticularly that of Harvard College." Nevertheless, on four separate occasions the courts decided in favor of Winthrop and his friends, and the President and Fellows finally accepted defeat.[19]

From his father Adam inherited a substantial tract of land in the township of Worcester, Massachusetts. Fear of the Indians had prevented this plantation on the frontier from developing as rapidly as the senior Winthrop and his fellow proprietors had hoped it would. Those who came there to settle soon changed their minds, and by 1700 the place was practically uninhabited. But when peace came in 1713, the son put new life into the project. The General Court placed him on a committee to receive claims, adjust controversies, and in general clear the way for resettlement. This committee held several meetings, made a journey to Worcester, and appears to have done its work well. Each member was granted forty acres as compensation for his labors, and before long the town was a going concern. By 1718 it contained about sixty dwelling houses, and four years later the town was incorporated.[20]

Colonel Winthrop was the driving force behind this development, and it is pleasant to note that he was also generous to the town he had helped to bring into being. At a meeting held in May, 1726, the inhabitants voted "that thanks be returned to the Honorable Adam Winthrop for his bounty in bestowing a Cushing upon the town as furniture for the pulpit."[21] Presumably this was the kind of cushion on which a church Bible usually rests.

For eighteen years, from 1725 to 1743, he was Moderator of all the meetings of the proprietors. Long before he died, Colonel Winthrop had the satisfaction of seeing Worcester become the seat of a new county; and if he has not received general recognition as being the principal founder of that city, it is to be hoped that he was rewarded in some more tangible form during his lifetime. He was also a proprietor of the towns of Holden and Rutland; a historian of Holden, writing about 1840, declared, "He emphatically may be called a FATHER to the town."[22]

Another of Winthrop's ventures was mining. In 1731 he was at the head of a Boston group that took a thirty-year lease of part of the copper mines at Simsbury, Connecticut, and tried to make them pay. Some ore was extracted, but there is no indication that the Colonel and his associates benefited greatly thereby. Nevertheless, he continued to have faith in New England's mineral resources and their lucrative possibilities; in 1736 he petitioned the General Court of Massachusetts for a subsidy that would enable him to investigate these, but the Court declined to grant it.[23]

The Company for the Propagation of the Gospel in New England was chartered by Parliament in 1649 and its object was the conversion of the Indians in those parts. It was well endowed, principally by Englishmen in England, and funds sent to America were disbursed by a board of Commissioners resident in New England. As John Eliot's policy of conversion included teaching the Indians how to lead an agricultural life and supplying them with the necessary tools and clothing for that purpose, a good deal of money crossed the Atlantic and was spent by the Commissioners. In 1662 the original society was superseded by one with an even longer name, but to all intents and purposes it was merely a continuation of the old organization. Now and then the London end of the management sent over a small amount of principal to be invested in New England, as well as income which was to be disbursed at the discretion of the Commissioners. And as the Commissioners did not always spend all the income transmitted to them, a fairly substantial amount of principal and unexpended income gradually accumulated in Boston. Of these funds Judge Samuel Sewall was the local custodian in the early years of the eighteenth century. When he resigned as Treasurer and Secretary in 1724, Adam Winthrop was elected to fill the vacancy; Winthrop was already a Commissioner, and Judge Sewall seems to have been pleased with his successor.

To the authorities in London Sewall wrote: "Adam Winthrop, Esq. was chosen by the Commissioners to serve in my stead till the mind of the Honorable Corporation might be known. The choice was very unanimous. Nine were at the meeting, and eight votes written in papers were for him; every one but his own. Two or three days after, viz. April 24th, he signified his acceptance and the Commissioners directed and ordered the said Winthrop to take the Company's mortgages, bonds, bills of credit, stationary ware, and other effects into his hands. In pursuance of which order, I have lately delivered them to him." Among the "other effects" were "all the Company's books, small and great, amounting to the number of two thousand, nine hundred and thirteen books."[24]

Toward the end of October in 1729 Colonel Winthrop and one of his fellow Commissioners joined three Fellows of Harvard College in an expedition to Natick, where they "convened the Indians and English that usually attend publick there, and made enquiry of them about the state of religion amongst them." In other words, they went out to see what had become of John Eliot's best community of Praying Indians and to decide whether the inhabitants, both red and white, ought to be encouraged to revive the church there and have young Oliver Peabody for their minister. Their report was entirely favorable and led to the re-establishment of the church. At that time there were about thirty Indian families in Natick, and only eight English households.[25]

The local Treasurer of the Society with the long name received an honorarium of £20 per annum, and probably he earned it—for he was not always free from worries. The principal cause of the latter was the financial condition of the individuals to whom loans had been made. Now and then, when an appropriation called for ready money, the investment could not be liquidated on short notice. As we shall soon see, Adam Winthrop learned this, to his embarrassment and personal inconvenience, in 1741. Then, too, there was Governor Talcott of Connecticut, who was forever trying to get an appropriation for the Indians of his colony, but without success; Adam Winthrop and his fellow Commissioners from Massachusetts blocked his efforts every time.[26]

Adam Winthrop grew up in the Second ("Old North") Church, of which Increase Mather and his son Cotton Mather were the most prominent ministers in his time. Adam was admitted to membership on March 4,

1705, "being the first day of the 30th year of his age,"[27] and at least fourteen of his children were baptized in it between 1704 and 1725. When his son Adam was baptized by Cotton Mather in August, 1706, Adam "dedicated a silver bason to the Church for the use of Baptism." It was made by Edward Winslow, and measures 13⅝ inches in diameter. The rim is engraved with the arms of the Winthrop family; the under side of the rim is inscribed: *Hoc Lavacrum Septentrionali in Bostonio Ecclesiae ad usum SS. Baptismi dedicatum est per Adamum Winthrop ad ortum primi sui Filii qui baptisatus est* 18 *Aug:* 1706.[28] Probably there were other gifts from the same source, for in a paragraph describing various legacies and donations the historian of the Second Church writes, "Adam Winthrop also deserves honorable mention in this connection." It is pleasant to record, too, that when times were hard he advocated and brought about an increase in the minister's salary, as well as "a present of sixty pounds now made to the Rev. Joshua Gee, our pastor, out of the money in the church's stock."

Of this conservative church Colonel Winthrop was a distinctly conservative member. When his son Adam, then a Sophomore in Harvard College, asked permission to be inoculated for smallpox, he wrote the boy the following fatherly letter:[29]

Dear Child,

I RECEIVED this Evening yours of this day [November 2, 1721] wherein you seem strongly to press for my consent to your being inoculated, the proposall whereof fills my mind with great concern and Agitation, and I was never so much as now at a loss what to write you. It appears to me to be a Matter of vast Moment and of much Dispute and Doubt, and so not to be rashly proceeded in; and the Lawfullness, the Expedience and the Consequence ought to be well weighed before it be undertaken. It ought to be your first concern to be in good terms with God by being born again and so ready for Death and all Events; and they who are so may well commit their Lives and all to him, and they who are otherwise have reason to apprehend hazard in every condition and undertaking. You ought to remember that God is a Gracious God and takes pleasure in those that hope in his Mercy; he has shown himself Good and Kind to your Two Brothers, who we hope are both on the Recovery, and you ought to consider that God can preserve you from having the Distemper at all (as he has done, tho' you have been much in the way of it) or give it to you gently in the common way; and also that he can cause it to be Mortall in the way you propose, and that it shall not be so is not in the power of any Man on Earth to assure you. And you will do well seriously to debate whither the Method you propose be not running unwarrantably into sickness and Danger, and whither putting confidence in the success does not look like placing your Refuge in means and creatures rather than in God, and whither if you should have it bad, you would not in the common way have the refreshment

to think this is God's doing, this he has brought upon me; and on the other hand, the troublesome reflection, this I have by my own Act brought upon myself. As for my own part, according to my present View, I think I should have less Distress in burying many Children by the Absolute Act of God's providence, than in being the Means of burying one by my own Act and Deed.

Notwithstanding all I have said, I allow you to be now arriving to years of Understanding, and so to begin in some measure to be capable of judging for your self, and from thence it is that I have laid those things before you for your Serious consideration; and I advise you to digest and debate them well in your mind and to ask by humble and fervent prayer Light and Direction from God; and when you have so done, let me know what your mind is then, and I will consider and advise what Answer to make you. So I remain

Your loving Father,
ADAM WINTHROP

It must have been a very difficult decision for Colonel Winthrop to make, for he had had too much experience with sickness and death in his family not to realize what it would mean to him to lose his eldest son by smallpox. Of his sixteen children only six lived to maturity. On the other hand, if God looked with disfavor on this new and somewhat precarious means of prevention, as many contended that He did, might He not show his displeasure by taking the boy from him if he experimented with it? To a man of Adam Winthrop's religious belief and conservative temperament, the safer course seemed to be to steer clear of inoculation and so escape direct responsibility for whatever might come. If the Lord chose to afflict Adam, Jr., with sickness and death, it would be the Lord's will and he would accept it as such. But if he allowed the boy to be inoculated and the Lord chose to punish him for doing so, he would never be able to forgive himself for having brought calamity upon them both. When making up his mind on this point, Colonel Winthrop must have taken into consideration the fact that both of his ministers, Increase and Cotton Mather, were outspoken champions of inoculation. Seldom was he at variance with them, but in this case he was. Happily it made no change in their personal relations; when the elder Mather died in 1723, Colonel Winthrop served as one of the overseers of his will.

Adam Winthrop's declining years were not happy. Probably it was his speculative investments in land or his venture in copper mining, or both, that led to his downfall. At any rate, about 1740 he found it necessary to borrow money, and he made the serious mistake of borrowing funds that belonged to the Company for the Propagation of the Gospel in New England,

of which he was the local Treasurer. To have put this money to work by lending it at interest to some other substantial Bostonian would have been quite proper; but for the Treasurer to make a loan to himself was another matter, even if his credit was supposedly good and his social position second to none. A time came when the Commissioners called for the funds and the borrower could not produce them. According to Josiah Cotton, a nephew of Cotton Mather, who was employed by them as a missionary among the Indians of Plymouth County, Colonel Winthrop, "having spent much of the money to discharge his own debts, broke, and confined himself to his house."[30] This was his house on the northeast corner of Common (now Tremont) and Winter Streets; he had moved from his old home on Back (now Salem) Street in the North End about 1722. In order to meet his obligations he mortgaged the house to another of the Commissioners; about a year later he paid off the mortgage and sold the property.[31] As Treasurer of the Commissioners he was replaced by Andrew Oliver, and Eliakim Hutchinson succeeded him as justice of the Suffolk County Inferior Court.*

It was a dismal ending to a useful career, but perhaps one should not infer that the course of conduct that occasioned it was dishonorable. If it had been so, his fellow townsmen would hardly have continued to accord him manifestations of their respect. They, knowing all the facts better than we can hope to do, seem to have regarded him as unfortunate but not disgraced; and when there was an opportunity for honoring him, they availed themselves of it wholeheartedly. This occurred about a year later when Peter Faneuil presented the town of Boston with a handsome new building. At a special town meeting held in September, 1742, Colonel Winthrop was named first of five dignitaries who were appointed a committee to draw up a vote of thanks "to Peter Faneuil, Esq., for his noble and generous benefaction of the Market House to the town"; and, except for the Moderator, he was named first among those unanimously appointed "to wait upon Peter Faneuil, Esq., in the name of the Town to render him their most hearty thanks for so bountiful a gift, with their prayers that this and other expressions of his bounty and charity may be abundantly recompenced with the divine blessing." Boston still thought well of its Colonel Winthrop.[33]

* According to Andrew Oliver, Colonel Winthrop owed the Society £5,800.2.1. To meet this deficit he deeded to Edward Hutchinson in trust, on November 5, 1741, all his lands in Rutland (2,122 acres) and 223 acres in Holden.[32]

Winthrop's financial reverses probably shortened his life. He died in Boston on October 2, 1743, at the age of sixty-seven years, and was buried four days later in the King's Chapel Burying-ground. Under date of October 2 his son John wrote in his Diary: "Dies nunquam obliviendus! Obiit Pater optimus post quam annos vixisset 67, et menses septem." His estate was appraised at £715 6*s* 1*d*, and it included a modest library of one hundred and fifty-two volumes. The Houghton Library of Harvard University has his copy of Cotton Mather's *El-Shaddai* (a funeral discourse on the death of Mrs. Katharin Willard, August 1, 1725).

The alleged portrait of Adam Winthrop reproduced in Oliver Ayer Roberts's *History of the Ancient and Honorable Artillery Company* (1, facing p. 357), is incorrectly labeled. It is a portrait of Colonel Winthrop's son, Samuel, and is derived from an original Copley in the Fogg Art Museum, Harvard University.[34]

Adam Winthrop was both a useful citizen and an ornament to the Boston of his day. One office after another was entrusted to him by his fellow-citizens; and though none of these carried much glory with it, he cheerfully did what was required of him and was content. His private business in promoting settlements in Maine and on the western frontier of Massachusetts probably did more for the Province than for himself; it would not be claiming too much to say that neither Brunswick, Maine, nor Worcester and Holden, Massachusetts, would have come into being so early if it had not been for his efforts. If he hoped to add to his fortune thereby, that is not to his discredit; nor is it to his discredit if he worked hard and found himself out of pocket in the long run. His success lay in what he accomplished for others and not in accumulating money for himself and his descendants. His contemporaries looked up to him, partly because of his social position and partly because he embodied qualities that commanded their respect.

Children:

Adam, born at Salem Village (Danvers), July 3, 1702, died on the same day.

Ann, born in Boston, May 4, 1703, died on the following day.

Ann, born June 18, 1704, died August 26, 1704.

Adam, born August 12, 1706. See p. 165.

Ann, born September 17, 1707, died September 28, 1707.

Ann, born August 9, 1709, married Benjamin Pemberton May 17, 1729, and died without issue.

John, born December 11, 1711, died January 28, 1712.

John, born March 9, 1713, died August 10, 1713.

JOHN, born December 8, 1714, became Professor John Winthrop. See p. 167.

SAMUEL, born June 13, 1716. See p. 193.

William, born July 3, 1717, died July 14, 1717.

Mary, born August 25, 1718, died January 17, 1719.

Mary, born September 23, 1719, died October 14, 1719.

Lucy, born August 22, 1721, married George Jaffrey, Jr., November 10, 1758, and died without issue, January 10, 1776. Mr. Jaffrey graduated from Harvard College in 1736, became Treasurer of the Province of New Hampshire, and a member of the Council. He was "a gentleman of large estate and much influence."

William, born November 29, 1723, died October 1, 1724.

Mary, born March 22, 1725, married John Phillips, October 28, 1762, had issue, and died November 15, 1794. Mr. Phillips graduated from Harvard College in 1736. He was not *the* John Phillips, the founder of Phillips Exeter Academy.[35]

Mrs. Adam Winthrop, the mother of all these children, died May 22, 1755.

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CHAPTER V

The Fifth Generation

JOHN STILL[5] WINTHROP (*John*[4], *Wait Still*[3], *John*[2], *John*[1]) was born in New London, Connecticut, on January 15, 1720, "between 3 and 4 o'clock in the morning."[1] As his parents had recently lost their only son and were already blessed with a family of five daughters, the arrival of a boy was the occasion of much rejoicing on the banks of the American Thames. When the news reached Boston, his father's friend and former minister, Cotton Mather, wrote that he hoped this newest Winthrop would "begin to read before he is two years old, and begin to live before he is four, and give you the heart of a glad father with his wisdom." This sounds like a large order for one so young, and probably Mr. Winthrop did not take it too seriously; he had recently sent Dr. Mather a present of some money, and the delighted beneficiary was merely reciprocating with extravagant felicitations.[2]

The son Mr. and Mrs. Winthrop had lost was named John. This one they named John Still, probably out of compliment to his grandfather, Wait Still Winthrop,—though Wait seldom if ever used his middle name. It may be that their thoughts went back to Dr. John Still (1453?–1608), Bishop of Bath and Wells, whose sister Alice was the first wife of Adam Winthrop, the father of Governor John Winthrop of Massachusetts-Bay. This possibility seems rather unlikely, for none of the Winthrops was descended from Alice Still; and though her brother was a man of some eminence in his day, it is not easy to see why his name should have had any special appeal to the parents of John Still Winthrop, the subject of this sketch.

When John was about six years old, his temperamental father departed for England to petition the King in Council for more justice than he was able to obtain from the Connecticut courts; and though he intended to return, he never did so. Consequently John and his brother Basil and their five sisters were brought up by their mother, Ann Dudley Winthrop, who handled extremely well the many and varied responsibilities that fell upon her shoulders. At thirteen the boy entered Yale College, and at seventeen he graduated with the Class of 1737. As both his great-grandfather and his great-uncle had been governors of Connecticut for many years, it is not surprising to find John's name at the top of the list of those who received the bachelor's

John Still Winthrop
1720–1776

degree in 1737.[3] And although he was the first Winthrop to graduate from Yale, it should be remembered that his great-uncle had smiled upon the college in its infancy and had bequeathed it £100 on certain conditions. Three years after becoming an A.B., John was a candidate for the degree of Master of Arts, which he received as a matter of course.

Among the doubtful assets of this almost land-poor branch of the Winthrop family was a mine of black lead or graphite in the town of Sturbridge, Massachusetts. The ore was there,—there was no question about that,—but no one had been able to mine it with profit. Not long after his arrival in England, John's father decided to develop it. As he was in London and the mine was in the backwoods of New England, the enterprise was bound to be a failure from the very beginning. But in matters of business Winthrop, Sr., was always visionary and could hardly be expected to see the obvious difficulties in this newest venture. In the course of time he interested a few others in the project, and late in the summer of 1737 two of these associates, an Englishman named Sparrow and a Swede named Morke, crossed the ocean and presented themselves at the door of the Winthrop mansion at New London. Apparently they arrived unheralded; but they brought letters from Mr. Winthrop and it seemed safe enough to provide them with horses and speed them on their way to Tantiusques, the Indian name for the region of the family lead mine.

About a year later young John, then eighteen years old, went up to the mine to find out how things were going there and to keep an eye on the property. The operators, after a deal of trouble of various kinds, had taken out a little more than two tons of black lead, most of which was on its way to European markets. By the time John arrived on the scene Mr. Sparrow had left for England, and the boy found himself confronted with stormy Captain Morke. He reported to his mother: "At my arrival, contrary to my expectation, I met with very cold treatment from Capt. Morke; and after many hot words passing between us, he told me it was his house and that I had no business there to act anything but immediately under him. The same day I came he went to Brimfield in a great passion, where he had got a club of Irishmen who are his advisers, and went to the justice of the peace and showed his power from my father, and endeavored to get false witnesses to bring an action against Mr. Wright for defaming him." John was not lacking in either courage or initiative; he had the ore that had been mined taken to a neighbor's

house for safekeeping, and he instructed one of the workmen to live there and go to the mine "three times in a week, to see how he [Morke] carries on." But John did not enjoy this first taste of business; "as for my part," he wrote, "I would not live in the manner I do might I have a million of money, for there is not an hour in the day but there is hot words." Life on the farm at New London was much more agreeable and quite as profitable, and it was not long before he returned to it.[4]

In the summer of 1741, John received a very interesting letter from his father, who was still in London, "in Wellbanck Street, near Oxford Chappel." Mr. Winthrop thought that it was time the boy married and it was highly important that he should marry "well." The matter was much on the father's mind just then because he had been approached by "a person of honour, relating to a match between him [John] and a young lady of fortune and fine accomplishments, and is so nearly related to so many of the first rank and quality here that I cannot refuse." In writing to John, he broached the subject in the following manner: "I long to see you, and tho Mr. Salem* would not creditt me, perhaps he may be so friendly as to trust you with the loan of a few thousand pounds in order for your coming over to me into England; for I think now is your time, whilst I am here and I have a very agreeable young lady of a noble family in view for you; a fortune of ten thousand pound; and a fine woman of sense and ingenuity, and an heiress; and by the character [that] has been given of you, they approve of the match." He urged John to come over either by "the New-Yorke man of war, Capt. Pierce," sometime before the end of the year, or, if that were too short notice, "in the mast fleet . . . from Piscataqua in the spring." Don't be afraid of catching the smallpox in London, just come![5]

John probably noticed that no mention was made of the young lady's beauty or lack thereof, but whatever doubts he had on that subject were allayed, if not actually removed, when a subsequent letter, addressed to his brother-in-law Joseph Wanton, described the unnamed heiress as being "as gental and beautifull as any in England, and one of the happyest natur'd and best tempered women in the world."[6] In one way or another—possibly by a gift or loan from his sister Katherine, at Salem,—John got together enough money to finance the trip, and early in the spring of 1742 he was on his way to London. Of that memorable voyage he tells us: "March the

* His rich son-in-law, Samuel Browne, of Salem, Massachusetts, whom he disliked intensely.

16th, 1742. I Saild from Boston, in New England, on board the John Galley, Capt. Andrew Craigie, bound for London in Great Brittain, in Company with Mr. Auchmuty & Son and Mr. Walker; three days after we Left Said Port our Ship Proved Leakey, to our great Surprise; and on the 7th day, near the banks of Newfound Land, we had a violent Storm and two foot Water in our Ships Hole; both our Pumps Constantley going, and being very weake Handed, we Began almost to dispare, thinking our Selves in Eminent Danger, but by the Good Providence of God the Storm abated and our Ship Ceased Leaking, so that we were able to free her with one Pump only, to our Inexpresable Joy. On the Laste day of said month we had another Storme, but not so violent as the former. We were desined to goe North, about Scotland; but our ship Proved more Leakey than ever, which obliged us to bare away for the Channell of England, and being favoured with fair winds we arrived safe at Dartmouth on the 13th day of Aprill, to our unspeakable joy and satisfaction, where we lay Windbound five days. Dartmouth is a Small Town Sittuated at the foot of a Large mountain. They have a good harbor for ships, but the Entrance is very narrow, at which is an old Battery that mounts 12 Guns, etc. It is the most Romantick Place I ever saw; but the People are not very Sevill to Strangers."[7]

While the ship lay windbound at Dartmouth, John dashed off a letter to his father, telling him that he would remain on board until they reached London "unless the wind should be contrary when we come to Dover or the Downs, where we shall take a coach." In a postscript, he added, "I have about two hundred ounces of gold dust on board, which is not insured, but I believe the danger is past."[8] About a week later, Mr. Winthrop, who had not seen John since he was a boy of six, replied: "I bless God who has brought you safe over the vast Attlantick; I have hourly expected you for a week past, but hearing nothing from you suppose the vessell is wind-bound still at Dartmouth. I desire you to keep the ship till you come up to London; it is the fine season of the year, and it is much pleasanter to come up the river than to be stifled up in a stage coach, which is very fatigueing, and the roads are also very dangerous on account of highwaymen, etc. If you come up in the ship, you will see many fine seats of the nobility and gentry on both sides [of] the river, which is a very agreeable sight. When the ship is come quite up the river to her anchoring, still stay on board till you have sent a waterman to me with a letter acquainting me with the place where you are,

that I may send my servant to conduct you the best way thither. . . . On your coming up the river you will have many watermen near you, that you may call one and send immediately to me."

As the ship had sailed before the letter reached Dartmouth, John missed all these parental instructions and was free to follow his own inclinations. He tells us: "From thence we Saild to Dover, a much Larger Place then the other, where is a very antient castle on the top of a large chaulkey hill, in which is the bigest cannon and the deepest well in Europe, etc. Here we left the ship and took coach for London. We traviled thro Canterbury, a city in which is an old cathedrall church, where lies King Hen. 8th and also the Black Prince in armour, and maney curious statues, etc., and on the 27th day of Aprill we arrived safe at London, etc., and, being much tired with our journey, were obliged to lodge at the Spread Eagle in Gratious Street, a most miserable lodging indeed."[9]

How much or how little John enjoyed his sojourn in England after the novelty had worn off we do not know. About all we know is that he stayed there more than six years, that the proposed marriage did not materialize, and that he was a devoted son to an ailing, querulous, yet rather pathetic father. In the summer of 1747 his father died, "at Sydenham in the County of Kent, and was buried at Beckingham in the same County."[10] Thereupon John began to make plans for returning to New England as soon as possible. The great tracts of land there, to which he had now fallen heir, presented many problems and some possibilities. Since his coming away the family had tried to sell some property at Brookhaven, on the south side of Long Island, supposed to be "about ten miles square of land, both upland and meadow"; it was called "the Manor and Royalty of Groton Hall." But those who were at all interested in buying it either offered too little—the bottom price was £3000 sterling—or complained that the Winthrops could not give them a clear title.[11] Among those approached was brusque Admiral Warren, who had recently commanded the British fleet at the capture of Louisbourg. Apparently the Admiral was more attracted by Fisher's Island, the gem of the Winthrop collection; he was ready to take a mortgage on that, but the Long Island proposition left him cold. Meanwhile John and his father were very short of cash. John's brother-in-law, Gurdon Saltonstall, helped them out from time to time with substantial advances of money, but these seem to have been only sufficient to meet current expenses—not

enough to enable John to bring the old gentleman back to Connecticut, where both of them longed to be.[12]

Soon after his father's death John thought of a scheme for developing some of his American land into something remunerative; and though it seems to have come to naught, the effort indicates that he was practical and resourceful,—qualities which he may well have inherited from his altogether admirable mother. Remembering that he had met in London a distant cousin belonging to the branch of the Winthrop family living in Ireland, he sat down and wrote to him. The gentleman's name was William Winthrop; he was a merchant, and he lived in Cork. The American Winthrop's idea was this: "As I have great Tracts of Land, I should be glad to Improve them to the Best advantage. There is a Number of Irish People who have Settled in New England, and more I presume would willingly goe if they had any Incouragement; and if you Can Procure me a Number of Honest, Industrious familys who have some small Matter of their own to begin with, that would take and Improve them in the farming way or Carry on the Linnen Manufactury, or if they were acquainted with the fishery and would settle a fishing town or any other Bussiness, I will give them all the Incouragement I Possibly can when I know their Proposals. I make no Doubt but you can Serve in this affair which I shall Esteem as a great favour. I have wrote to my Brother-in-Law Gurdon Saltonstall, Esq., of New London in New England and Recommended him to you for the Transacting any business he may have by sending Ships to Cork, etc."[13]

Cousin William replied quite encouragingly: "Your Endeavouring to have some famellys from this Country to Settle on your Estate of some substance I think can be had in the Spring of the Year, such as Weavers, Taylers, Masons, etc., and others for farming—these last the most easy to be had, if but a Ship be Sent here from New London for them. The Ship can bring Lumber such as Staves and Oak Casks." The tone of the letter was most cordial, and the writer offered more specific advice as to what products would sell well in Ireland; but as far as we know, the project was never carried out.

After borrowing £100 from a London merchant, Winthrop could begin to see his way to sailing for New England; and early in the autumn of 1748 he and his Cousin Henrietta Hyde,—who had managed his father's household affairs in London for a number of years,—were headed westward across the broad Atlantic. Their route to New London was "by the way of Nan-

tucket first, and Rhoad Island next, and Fisher's Island last"; they finally arrived at the homestead on the evening of November 25. One of the neighbors recorded the happy occasion in his Diary, and added that it was "a great joy to his mother and friends. He hath been gone seven year next Feb."[14]

John's sister Katherine ("Kate") lived in Salem, Massachusetts. Her first husband was the opulent Samuel Browne; after his death she married Major Epes Sargent, of Gloucester, but continued to reside in Salem. She was a great favorite with all, and the family at New London enjoyed visiting her in her local grandeur. Probably John went to see her soon after his return from England and in that way made the acquaintance of Jane Borland, the only daughter of Mr. and Mrs. Francis Borland. The Borlands were Bostonians, to be sure, but Mrs. Borland was originally a Lindall of Salem, where her family still flourished.

Compared with the Winthrops, the Dudleys, or the Lindalls, the Borland family was new; but it had the merit of wealth, some of which, at least, seems to have been made in a hurry and by questionable means. Early in the eighteenth century the General Court had found John Borland, Jane's grandfather, guilty of high misdemeanor in trading with the enemy in time of war, and had penalized him to the tune of £1 100 and costs.[15] But by 1750 that was "ancient history," and Jane's father had been for many years a prominent and useful member of the congregation of the Old South Church. On the Lindall side she clearly belonged to the Salem aristocracy. Her great-grandfather, Timothy Lindall, Esq., had done well as a merchant and shipowner there in the seventeenth century, and her grandfather, another Timothy, had graduated from Harvard College in 1695 and since then had added to the family reputation and fortune.[16] It is safe to assume that even so critical a person as John Winthrop, F.R.S., would have approved of the match. So it came to pass that on September 4, 1750, John Still Winthrop and Jane Borland were married in Boston by the Reverend Joseph Sewall, D.D., of the South Church. He was thirty, and she eighteen. About a month later they arrived at New London and established themselves in the family mansion.[17]

Beyond all doubt Grandfather Lindall liked both Jane and the man she married. He was a little disappointed in one or two of his Borland descendants, but Jane seems to have been the apple of his eye. A few years after her

marriage, when she was expecting one of her many babies, he wrote to her and expressed the hope that, if it should prove to be a boy, it might be named either Thomas Lindall Winthrop or Samuel Lindall Winthrop. The baby was born at New London on March 6, 1760, and was named Thomas Lindall Winthrop. The pleased great-grandfather sent the child a present of some sort and confided to his father that he had remembered him in his will.[18]

When her newest baby was not yet five weeks old, Mrs. Winthrop died, leaving her husband with a family of eight children, the eldest of whom was less than ten years of age. In the autumn of the following year (November 23, 1761) Winthrop married again; the lady was Mrs. Elizabeth Hay, the widow of Captain John Hay, of the 40th Regiment. Her father was William Shirreff, who had been for a number of years a member of the Council in Nova Scotia. In those days the family lived at Annapolis, but more recently Mr. Shirreff had made his home in Boston. A William Shirreff, presumably his son, was aide-de-camp to General Gage about this time.[19]

That John Still Winthrop, who was born into the Congregational church at New London, should have married an Episcopalian is not surprising. He had spent almost seven years in London, and his "Cousin Hyde," who had taken good care of his father and now resided in New London, was a daughter of the Dean of Salisbury. Furthermore, the Venerable Society for Propagating the Gospel in Foreign Parts, an adjunct of the Church of England, had been especially active in Connecticut, and many graduates of Yale had been converted to Episcopacy. About 1730 an Anglican church had come into being in New London. If there was hostility toward it in some quarters, that was not the case in the Winthrop household or in its immediate sphere of influence. Joshua Hempstead, the Winthrops' homespun neighbor and never-failing friend, was a good Congregationalist, but when he understood, or rather misunderstood, that there was to be no minister at his own church one Sunday, he attended the services at the other. John Still Winthrop's attitude was one of more than good will. Soon after his return from England he became a pew-owner, a vestryman, and the largest contributor to a fund for repairing the church edifice. Thus, after one hundred and twenty years of dissent and separation, part of the Winthrop family in America reunited itself with the Church of England.[20]

In the arts and sciences this Winthrop did not pretend to shine. Probably

his sole contribution to science was a very brief paper on an unpleasant physiological subject that was read before the Royal Society in 1745; it was printed in *Philosophical Transactions*, XLIII. 304–305,—though John Still himself was not F.R.S. He was essentially a man of affairs, and that was exactly what his branch of the family most needed at that time. As far as possible he consolidated his territorial assets, and the cash he got in enabled him to build a new mansion, which a contemporary pronounced "the best in the province." It was a large house at the head of Winthrop's cove.[21]

From his father, Winthrop inherited many of the family papers, including the unpublished manuscript of Governor John Winthrop's Journal or "History of New England"; this he lent to one person or another with astonishing generosity. An early borrower was Thomas Prince, of Boston, when working on his *Annals of New England*; in 1760 Francis Borland wrote Winthrop, "By Mr. Goreham I now send you the Books you lent the Reverend Mr. Prince, which I lately received from his widow." This recovery was good as far as it went, but volume III of the manuscript of Winthrop's "History" was found in Mr. Prince's library in the tower of the Old South Meeting House fifty-six years afterward, "buried beneath a mass of pamphlets and papers." In 1767 the borrower was the Reverend Ezra Stiles, at that time a minister in Newport, Rhode Island, who copied about one-third of the contents of two volumes before returning them to Winthrop more than three years later.[22]

A portrait of John Still Winthrop, by an unidentified artist, shows him to have been a man of small stature and amiable countenance. His eyes are gray and regard one with friendly alertness. He appears quite capable of taking care of himself, yet modest about his ability, attainments, and property. The original portrait, which is reproduced here, belongs to Robert Winthrop, of New York; there is a copy in the possession of the Massachusetts Historical Society.

Mr. Winthrop died at New London on June 6, 1776, a few days after the death of his mother, and is supposed to be buried in "the ancient burial ground" of that town.[23] The inventory of his estate listed possessions with a total value of a little under £10,000.[24] Among the more interesting items are:

The West Part of Poquonock Farm in Groton, now in the Occupation of Jesse Brown, Containing by Estimation about 700 Acres, with the Buildings thereon and Appurtenances thereunto belonging. £2500

The Mansion House with the Lands adjoining, being by Estimation between 50 and 60 Acres, and the Mill House, Barn, Wood-house and other Appurtenances standing thereon, also the Mill and Stream, said Mill being wholey out of Repair and at present useless. £966 13*s* 4*d*

3148 Acres Land, by estimation, being what still remains unsold of the Lead Mine Tract, so-called. £955 4*s*

His widow died in England, on June 24, 1793.[25]

Children by his first wife, Jane Borland:

John, born July 20, 1751, graduated from Harvard College in 1770, and died unmarried in New York, November 15, 1780. See p. 199.

Jane, born November 1, 1752, married William Stewart, December 6, 1781, had issue, and died at Newport, Rhode Island, November 30, 1828.

Francis Bayard, born March 11, 1754, married Elsie Marston, and died in New York, May 16, 1817. See p. 200.

Ann, born May 7, 1755, married David Sears, one of the great merchants of Boston, had issue, and died October 4, 1789. She was buried in King's Chapel Burying-ground.[26]

William, born June 5, 1756, died unmarried in New York, April 27, 1827. See p. 205.

Joseph, born June 19, 1757, married Mary Fraser of Charleston, South Carolina, November 6, 1788, and died in Charleston, July 26, 1828. He had issue. See p. 206.

Mary, born January 31, 1759, married Richard W. Parkin, July 9, 1786, continued to reside in New London, and had issue.

Thomas Lindall, born March 6, 1760, married Elizabeth Bowdoin Temple, settled in Boston, became Lieutenant Governor of Massachusetts, and died February 22, 1841. He had issue. See p. 209.

Children by his second wife, Elizabeth Shirreff:

Benjamin, born September 17, 1762, married Judith Stuyvesant, of New York, January 19, 1785, and died January 9, 1844. He had issue. See p. 219.

Charles, born October 17, 1763, died in infancy.

Robert, born December 7, 1764, married Sarah Farbrace, of Dover, England, became a Vice Admiral in the British Navy, and died May 10, 1832. He had issue. See p. 222.

Elizabeth, born April 17, 1766, married Jacob Sebor, of Middletown, Connecticut, April 27, 1786, had issue, and died in May, 1847.

Margaret Shirreff, born July 17, 1767, married Adolphus B. Yates, of New York, January 1, 1788. After his death she married John Marston. She had issue by each marriage, and died January 7, 1822.

Henry, born October 19, 1768, died in infancy.

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5. Winthrop Manuscripts (Massachusetts Historical Society), 9. 63.
6. *Ibid.*
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13. *Ibid.*, 9. 146.
14. *Ibid.*, 9. 145; New London County Historical Society *Collections*, I. 509.
15. Thomas Hutchinson, *History of Massachusetts-Bay* (1936), II. 117.
16. *Sibley's Harvard Graduates*, IV. 254–258.
17. *A Report of the Record Commissioners of the City of Boston, containing the Boston Marriages from 1700 to 1751*, 268; New London County Historical Society *Collections*, I. 557.
18. Winthrop Manuscripts (Massachusetts Historical Society), 1B. 53, 58, 61.
19. *Boston Marriages, 1752–1809*, 397; Robert C. Winthrop, Jr., *A Short Account of the Winthrop Family*, 12; Beamish Murdoch, *A History of Nova Scotia*, I. 471; II. 4, 9, 479.
20. Winthrop Manuscripts (Massachusetts Historical Society), 10. 148; 11. 63; New London County Historical Society *Collections*, I. 618; Robert A. Hallam, *Annals of St. James's Church*, 29, 45, 49.
21. Samuel Peters, *General History of Connecticut* (1782), 136; *Winthrop Papers*, I. v.
22. Massachusetts Historical Society *Collections*, Second Series, IV. 200–202; Winthrop Manuscripts (Massachusetts Historical Society), 9. 15; *The Literary Diary of Ezra Stiles*, I. 66, 86.
23. *New England Historical and Genealogical Register*, XI (1857), 25.
24. Winthrop Manuscripts (Massachusetts Historical Society), 9. 161.
25. Josephine C. Frost, *Ancestors of Henry Rogers Winthrop*, 13.
26. Winthrop Manuscripts (Massachusetts Historical Society), 1B. 74, overleaf.

ADAM[5] WINTHROP (*Adam*[4], *Adam*[3], *Adam*[2], *John*[1]) was born in Boston, Massachusetts, on August 12, 1706, "just before Eleven of the Clock" at night, and was baptized "at the North Church by Mr. Cotton Mather" six days later.[1] In commemoration of this auspicious occasion his father, Adam Winthrop, a well-to-do merchant, gave to the Second Church a silver basin to be used in connection with baptismal services. The Latin inscription on the under side of the rim tells us this and gives the date on which this newest Adam Winthrop was baptized. Growing up in Boston, Adam enjoyed the social prestige of being Colonel Winthrop's eldest son and the material advantages which accrued from his father's apparent wealth. During his early boyhood the family lived at the North End, on what is now Salem Street; while he was in college they moved to the northeast corner of Common (Tremont) and Winter Streets.

No Adam Winthrop at Harvard had ever been a model undergraduate and evidently this one did not choose to establish a precedent in that respect. His term bills frequently included fines for various misdemeanors, but none of these lapses was so serious as to alter his place in the official list of the Class of 1724 after it was established at the end of the second quarter of his Freshman year. At that time his name was put at the top, where it remained for the rest of his college course—and was then transferred to the Triennial Catalogue at the head of the list of those who graduated from Harvard in 1724. His father and his grandfather had been accorded similar rank in the lists of the Classes of 1694 and 1668 respectively; the social position of his branch of the Winthrop family was second to none. Yet one feels that young Adam Winthrop was quite a person in his own right as well; on Class Day (March 7, 1724) he delivered the valedictory oration, and at Commencement the "Oratio Salutatoria." Three years later, in 1727, when he presented himself for the degree of Master of Arts, the President and Fellows indulged in a little joke by requiring him to be prepared to argue that all men are descended from Adam (*An Totum Genus Humanum soli Adamo debeant Originem*). Whether this son and grandson of an Adam actually defended that thesis before the assembled company is not clear; but there can be no doubt about his being present at the exercises and making a speech of some sort, for President Wadsworth recorded in his Diary: "These things being over, Mr. Winthrop, head of the Masters' Class, made a valedictory oration, then I concluded with a short prayer; then we walked in the usual

procession to the College Hall, so the work of the day was finished, and blessed be God it was so comfortably through."[2] Adam called this speech "Oratio Gratulatoria"; but to the President, at the end of a long, hard day, it may well have sounded like a valedictory. The original manuscripts of all three of these orations, each written and signed by the author, are preserved in the Harvard University Archives.

For twelve years after receiving his first degree from Harvard, Winthrop appears to have lived at his father's house in Boston and to have been to a certain extent a merchant. In 1734 the town tried to involve him in governmental affairs by appointing him a constable, but he—like most of those chosen from the local aristocracy—declined to serve. Two years later he was elected one of the Clerks of the Market, and again he begged off.[3] The statement has been made that he was "clerk of the Judicial Court of Boston." Perhaps it would be more accurate to say that he was an assistant clerk of the Superior Court of the Province. At any rate, Chief Justice Lynde recorded in his Diary, under June 7, 1732: "I sat in Council, and about 8 p.m. sailed for [Nantucket] with all the rest of our Court and Clerk Mr. S. Tyley, Attorney General Overing, Mr. Adam Winthrop, Jr., and Capt. Pollard, on board Capt. Ebenezer Gardiner's sloop."[4] There is no record of his having been appointed Clerk of that Court, an office long held by his brother Samuel.

On April 30, 1736, Adam Winthrop, on the verge of being thirty years old, married Mary Hall, one of the daughters of Hugh Hall of Barbados and Boston.[5] Her father was a merchant, an admiralty judge, and a member of the Council in Barbados. Mary and her older sister, Sarah, appear to have made their home with their brother Hugh in Boston, and when their father died in 1732, each of the girls fell heir to more than £2000. A letter written two years later speaks of Mary as "one of the Top Beauties of your metropolis" and expresses surprise that she "has not mett with a good husband." This deficiency was removed when she married Adam Winthrop. The ceremony was performed by the Reverend Benjamin Colman, D.D., of the Brattle Street Church, and the young couple established themselves on Brattle Street, presumably in one of the houses belonging to the Hall family.[6] As they lived in that part of town and as she belonged to Dr. Colman's flock, it is not surprising that Adam transferred his membership from the Second Church to the Brattle Street Church.

Of Adam Winthrop's subsequent history we know little except that he visited London in 1740, was back in Boston in October of that year,[7] and died in Boston, December 12, 1744. One gets the impression that he was not blessed with a robust physique, and it is quite likely that his span of life was shortened by his father's financial complications and embarrassments. His estate was valued at £800. He left no children, and on May 26, 1750, his widow married Captain William Wentworth of Portsmouth, a brother of Benning Wentworth, governor of New Hampshire. Her sister had married another of the governor's brothers. Both sisters died in Portsmouth early in 1790.

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6. Clifford K. Shipton, *Sibley's Harvard Graduates*, VII. 446–447.
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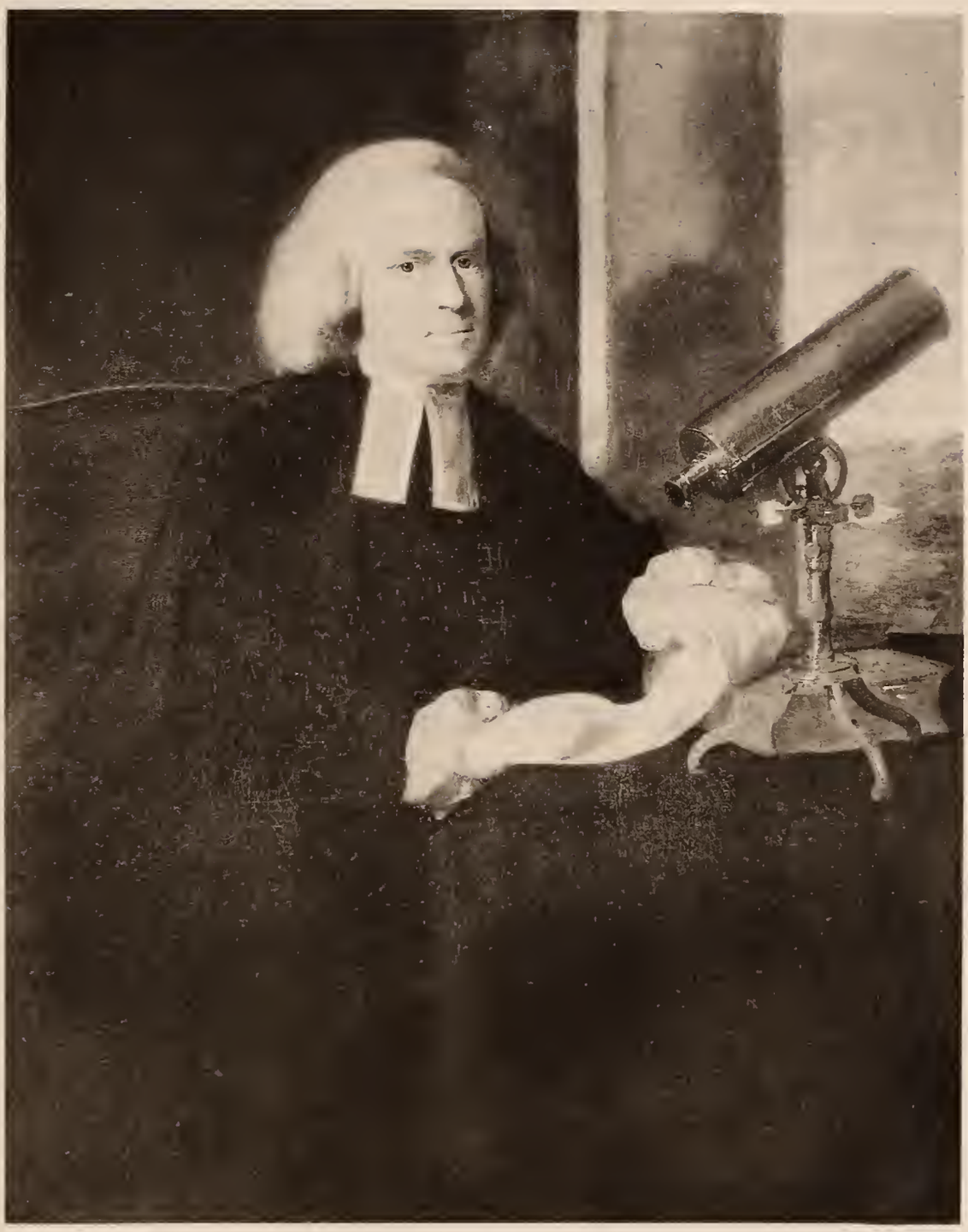
JOHN[5] WINTHROP (*Adam*[4], *Adam*[3], *Adam*[2], *John*[1]), usually known as Professor Winthrop, was born in Boston, Massachusetts, on December 8, 1714. We have the record in his father's own handwriting: "1714. December 8th, Wednesday, about half an hour before one a Clock in the morning my Wife was delivered of a son, who was the next Sabbath Baptized John at the North Church by Dr. Cotton Mather."[1] He is said to have attended the Latin School,[2] and we know that he entered Harvard College in the summer of 1728, a few months before his fourteenth birthday. When the Freshmen were officially "placed," at the beginning of the second quarter of the academic year, his name shot upward to the top of the list of the Class of 1732;[3] and there it has remained to this day, as the College Book of Quarter Bills and two centuries of Triennial and Quinquennial Catalogues of Harvard graduates will attest.

John was a methodical child. On the morning of Sunday, September 1, 1728, he began a little notebook in which he entered an abstract of every sermon he heard from that date until more than a year later; then the book was full, and one surmises that, like many a Sophomore before his day and since, he decided that it was time to take life a little less seriously. But it is a remarkable document from the brain and pen of a fourteen-year-old boy. He seems never to have missed a point in those sermons, many of which included a section entitled "Improvement,"—meaning spiritual application. He recorded the name of the minister—usually Nathaniel Appleton—and cited the text; and at the end of the book he compiled a chronological index giving the date of each sermon, the name of the preacher, and the page on which the abstract might be found. As a Freshman, too, he began "A book of Extracts from many Authors," which he continued to keep until 1735. Here again his innate sense of order is conspicuous; he divided the book into twelve parts, each numbered with a Roman numeral and each devoted to one subject such as Poetry, History, Philosophy, etc. At the end he made an alphabetical index for each part, which would enable him to turn to any item with the least expenditure of time and energy. Invariably he headed the note or quotation with the name of the author and the title of the work. It is all so incredibly well done that the reader is relieved to find that now and then this paragon of students took pleasure in copying some passages from Dean Swift and other writers that are more ribald than edifying. He was, after all, a real boy.[4]

It is not possible to state positively that he was the young man—or should we say boy?—who at the Commencement exercises in June, 1732, argued that nothing containing the possibility of decay is eternal (*Nihil est aeternum cui inest possibilitas corruptionis*); but the chances are very good that he was, for he was the star student in the Senior class and his field of principal interest was physics. At any rate, we can reasonably assume that he made at least one speech on that occasion, for earlier in the year President Wadsworth jotted down in his diary: "Oratio Salutatoria (April 14, 1732) I directed Winthrop, head of the Senior Sophisters Class, to make it at the next Commencement."[5] Three years later, as a candidate for the degree of Master of Arts, he presented himself again, this time prepared to argue against the proposition that it is permissible for magistrates to impose hardship on anyone for declaring and maintaining his own religious views (*An magistrati-*



Professor John Winthrop

bus, quemquem suas de rebus diviniis opiniones vulgantem ac truentem, incommodo quovis afficere liceat). This was one of the many questions that had troubled the mind, heart, and administration of his great-great-grandfather, Governor John Winthrop of Massachusetts-Bay, about a hundred years earlier; and one suspects that the President and Fellows assigned it to this eighteenth-century John Winthrop on that account.

After receiving his Bachelor's degree, young Winthrop continued at the College as a sort of free-lance graduate student, no doubt spending most of his time in the fascinating "apparatus room" in the upper regions of Harvard Hall. This was the physical laboratory of his era. On the College books he was now Sir Winthrop, that being the correct designation for a resident student already A.B. but not yet A.M. One of the irksome requirements in the life of a graduate student was having to "dispute" a set question every fortnight in the presence of the President. Many absented themselves from these sessions, and were fined for doing so; but John Winthrop was always there. On at least one occasion he was about the only one present, and President Wadsworth made a note of it: *Dominus Winthrop Respondens; unicus tantùm erat opponens, cum unico argumento.* But there came a time when he, too, begged to be excused, and for a very good reason. When the President spoke to him one September day in 1734 and asked him "to prepare for disputing and also analyzing," the young man replied that "he thought of leaving the College in about a fortnight or three weeks time." So, after a little more than two years of graduate study, John Winthrop withdrew from Harvard College.[6]

While at Cambridge, Winthrop had studied under Isaac Greenwood, the first Hollis Professor of Mathematics and Natural and Experimental Philosophy, but it probably never occurred to him that in the course of a few years he would both succeed him in that chair and entirely outshine him as a scientist. Greenwood was a peculiar man; though he may have been a good mathematician and an inspiring teacher, he had the unfortunate habit of getting drunk, sometimes very drunk. The Governing Boards put up with his failings as long as they could, but the limit of their patience was reached in the summer of 1738 and he was then relieved of his office. It did not take the President and Fellows very long to choose his successor; on August 30 they elected young John Winthrop, who was still a few months short of being twenty-four years old. Among the disappointed aspirants for this gilt-

edged appointment was one of the tutors, Nathan Prince, of the Class of 1718, a brother of the Reverend Thomas Prince of the South Church. He was not a good loser, but his reactions and remarks are none the less entertaining on that account. When Winthrop's merits were being considered by the Corporation, Nathaniel Appleton, one of the Fellows, "endeavoured to extoll Mr. Winthrop, and to commend his Qualifications for that Place"; Prince, being of the *prima donna* type, was sure that the Reverend Mr. Appleton did this "on purpose to vex and torture me." When the selection had been made, he exploded with, "There they have chosen that Boy Winthrop Professor. I could teach him his A.B.C. in the Mathematicks."[7]

On October 3 the Overseers met and appointed a committee to examine the nominee "as to his knowledge in the Mathematicks," and at the December meeting they gave their approval to his election. Neither they nor the Corporation found it necessary to examine him "about his principles of religion," probably because the Reverend Nathaniel Appleton could state that the young man had been admitted to full communion in the Cambridge church about five years before. Winthrop's inauguration took place in old Harvard Hall on January 2, 1739. About noon the Governing Boards "went down from the Library into the Hall and took their places at several tables." Here followed an elaborate program which included a reading of the rules and statutes laid down by the donor of the chair, "Thomas Hollis of London, Merchant," and an oration in Latin by the incoming professor; "after this Dr. Sewal made the last prayer, and some stanzas of Psalm 148 were sung, and the Overseers and Corporation went up to the Library whilst the tables were spread, and returned with other gentlemen to dinner in the College Hall." Thus, at twenty-four, John Winthrop entered upon the professorship which he held with ever-increasing distinction for forty years.[8]

The first known record of the new professor's scientific work is a manuscript in the Harvard University Archives; it contains his notes on sunspots which he observed, and incidentally gives us a rather engaging picture of the observer. It begins with these lines:

> 1739 April 19th at Boston. Walking on the Common a little before sunset, the air being so hazy that I was able to look on the sun, I plainly saw *with my naked eye* a very large and remarkable spot. Its shape was oblong and the length of it was perpendicular to the horizon. I observed it several minutes till the sun was actually set. It was likewise seen by several persons in the company, Messrs. Skinner and Read. The next day, Friday, coming back to Cambridge I looked at the sun with

CORRECTION

Page 171, line 11, *for* Mairain *read* Mairan.

an 8 foot telescope from 6 A.M. till sunset and discovered not only the same spot which I saw before but several others.

In his notes he drew sketches of the spots as they appeared on the twentieth and on the twenty-second; the intervening day was cloudy. At the end of the entry for April 19 he recorded: "At night a considerable aurora borealis." The question is, and probably always will be,—did John Winthrop surmise that there was some connection between the two phenomena? It almost seems as if he must have, for it is the only reference to anything not obviously connected with his sunspot observations. Furthermore, the possibility of a relationship had been suggested by a French scientist in 1733, and Winthrop may have picked up that suggestion from a review of Mairain's book in the *Philosophical Transactions* of the Royal Society of London. The definite relationship between sunspot activity and auroras was not firmly established until the second half of the nineteenth century.

At Harvard the study of astronomy was no novelty. There is good evidence that the Copernican system was officially sanctioned and taught there as early as 1659.[9] About 1672 Governor John Winthrop, Jr., had given the college a small telescope; and in 1680 Thomas Brattle, of the Class of 1676, had made observations that were mentioned by Sir Isaac Newton in his *Principia*. In more recent times the subject had received encouragement in the founding of the Hollis professorship, one of the statutes of which required the holder to teach, among other things, "the motions of the heavenly bodies according to the different hypotheses of Ptolemy, Tycho Brahe, and Copernicus." Under Professor Winthrop, Harvard's interest and achievements in astronomy were to receive wide recognition. In 1740 he observed the transit of Mercury over the sun and an eclipse of the moon, and he wrote a letter about them to the Royal Society of London. This was read before the assembled Fellows about three years later and was printed in their *Philosophical Transactions* for 1742–43 (XLII. 572–578).

For watching the transit of Mercury the weather conditions appear to have been almost perfect; but at the time of the lunar eclipse "the sky, which at the beginning of the eclipse was very clear, soon became overcast," which prevented Winthrop "from making above one or two observations" that he could depend upon. To the non-astronomical reader the light that this communication throws on timepieces and timekeeping of that day is quite as interesting as the details of the progress of Mercury across the

face of the sun. "Having no clock," wrote Winthrop, "I was obliged to make use of my pocket-watch, which I know to be a good one; and by this it was easy to distinguish time to a quarter of a minute, which would have served pretty well for the ingress of the planet. But as it was by no means sufficient for those other observations I designed to make, I procured another watch, which shewed seconds; and both these watches I adjusted to the apparent time, by several altitudes of the sun taken with the quadrant before the transit began; and by altitudes taken the next day, I found that the watches had kept time exactly enough." His principal instrument was a twenty-four-foot telescope, part of Harvard's equipment; his chief handicap was the wind, which "blew fresh" and shook the tube so much that he missed at least one observation he had hoped to make.

About this time Professor Winthrop began a meteorological record which he kept for more than thirty-five years. The American Academy of Arts and Sciences has the complete register, beginning with December, 1742, and ending in April, 1779,—beautifully written notes which give the reader the impression of a very orderly mind. The Professor's handwriting alone is a joy to the eye. The human being within the scientist peeps out in some of the entries, such as "Charming weather" (October 6, 1744) and, two days later, "A summer's day."*

It was in the early 1740's, too, that he first visited Dighton Rock in southeastern Massachusetts and made what he himself called "an imperfect copy" of the mysterious characters he saw engraved thereon.† But archaeology was not a main interest with him. What he really cared about was mathematics and physics (which included astronomy, geology, and meteorology). He may have introduced at Harvard the study of the elements of fluxions, which are now called differential and integral calculus; but this is not certain, for his unsteady predecessor, Isaac Greenwood, claimed to be competent to teach that subject and may have done so at the College.[10]

One of the interesting "rules and orders" governing the Hollis professorship required the holder to "read once a week, and, whenever the Corporation with the approbation of the Overseers shall require, twice a week, (times of vacation excepted) publickly in the hall to all students that will attend on

* The Harvard University Archives contain duplicate originals for the years 1744 through 1747; a duplicate for the year 1755 is in the Winthrop Manuscripts of the Massachusetts Historical Society, 7B. 64.

† The date of his visit was July 27, 1743. In his Diary he wrote simply, "Went to see the famous *rock*."

such topicks relating to the Science of the Mathematicks, Natural or Experimental philosophy, as he shall judge most necessary and useful, but always distinct and different from his private lectures."[11] This wise stipulation enabled boys taking a wholly non-scientific program to acquire at least a smattering of mathematics and physics and so extend their intellectual horizons. In other words, no theologian need emerge from the College without some acquaintance with scientific methods and thought. The lectures seem to have been "publick" only in that they were open to students not enrolled for instruction in these subjects. So it came about that in the autumn of 1755, after New England had been shaken by an alarming earthquake, Professor Winthrop had an opportunity to explain the phenonemon not only to his own classes but to as many students as wished to come to hear him. The day was November 26, and the place was Holden Chapel.

The "great earthquake" had occurred on Tuesday, November 18, about 4.15 A.M., and Winthrop was not exaggerating when he said that it "spread terror and threatened desolation throughout New England." It lasted about four minutes,—which is a long time in the dead of night,—but it was violent for only about two minutes. When at its worst, it must have been very severe, for though Winthrop was a scientist he "forbore to rise, because the agitation was so vehement"; he lay where he was and "concluded it would be very difficult, if not impracticable, to go from the bed to the chimney, without being thrown down; and therefore thought it best not to attempt it." The bed on which he lay was "tossed from side to side; the house was prodigiously agitated; the windows rattled, the beams cracked as if all would presently be shaken to pieces."[12] Apparently his wish to go across the room to the chimney sprang from his impulse to light a candle and note the exact time. When things had calmed down a bit, though "the windows continued rattling," he succeeded in making the trip; his watch said fifteen minutes after four. This was good as far as it went, but it troubled the Professor that he had not been awake and able to record the exact time of the first shock. "Near enough" was never near enough for John Winthrop when making observations. It soon appeared that in regard to this detail he had been incredibly lucky: the laws of Nature had done the work for him, in the following manner. Not long before, he had tucked away in the case of his clock "a pretty long glass tube" which he had been using in a particular experiment; at that time his whole idea was to put it where it would be out of

harm's way. (The Professor had a number of children.) When the earthquake came, this tube fell over against the pendulum, stopped the clock at eleven minutes and thirty-five seconds past four! Here, then, was an automatic record of the time of the severe part of the first shock.

But to return to the lecture which he delivered in the Chapel eight days later. The reader cannot fail to be impressed at once with its remarkable clarity. Winthrop was talking primarily to boys in their teens, and to a certain extent this may account for the simplicity of his language. One does not feel that he was talking down to the students, but one does feel that he took pains to make his exposition as clear as crystal to his audience. The presentation of his data is orderly, and his inferences seem almost inevitable. In the former there are no loose statements and no loose ends; in the latter he is never too positive, and never claims too much. As a result, his argument is singularly convincing. Striking, too, is his literary style. There is hardly a sentence that might not have been written in the latter part of the nineteenth century instead of in the middle of the eighteenth. He who delights in a quaint phrase or a musty aroma need not hunt for either in the writings of this John Winthrop, for neither will be found there. This makes him seem much nearer to our own time than he actually was; he seems not one generation but several generations this side of his one-time pastor, Cotton Mather.

In regard to what *causes* an earthquake, Professor Winthrop probably guessed wrong—as did almost all scientists prior to the second half of the nineteenth century. But his conclusions concerning its nature have stood the test of time; he was satisfied that it was an undulation of the surface of the earth. Some who were awake at the beginning of the earthquake had told him that the motion was undulatory, and he had reason to believe them; but proof positive was given him directly on the following Saturday evening, about half past eight, when an after-shock sent a distinct tremor through Cambridge. This time the Professor was very fortunately situated; he was sitting on a brick hearth, in which the bricks appear to have been loose—that is to say, not bound together by mortar. When the shock came, he felt distinctly the motion of the bricks under his feet. "It was not a motion of the whole hearth together," he wrote, "either from side to side, or up and down, but of each brick by itself. Now as the bricks were contiguous, the only motion which could be communicated to them separately was in a perpendicular direction; and the sensation excited in me was exactly the same

as if some small solid body, by moving along under the hearth had raised up the bricks successively, which immediately settled down again. The motion of the earth in this instance plainly appeared *undulatory* to me; and this shock, I apprehend, was occasioned by one small *wave of earth* rolling along, but not with a very swift motion."

To the present writer, who does not claim to know anything about seismology, these remarks seem to be both significant and historically important: significant, because they suggest that nothing, not even what he felt through the soles of his shoes, escaped the Professor's notice; and historically important, because at least one modern encyclopedia credits John Michell, F.R.S., with being "the first to attribute the vibratory movement in earthquakes to elastic waves traversing the crust," or, as another expresses it, with discovering that the shock of an earthquake moves the surface of the earth "in waves like those of a carpet when it is gently shaken on the floor." Michell's theory appeared in print in 1761, in the *Philosophical Transactions* of the Royal Society. Winthrop's observation and inference were published in Boston, Massachusetts, in 1755, in a pamphlet entitled *A Lecture on Earthquakes*. That the credit has gone to another for so many years would not trouble John Winthrop in the least. What counted with him was the discovery of truth, not who made the discovery or who received the glory.

Toward the end of his lecture, Professor Winthrop digressed a little from the path of pure science in an effort to reconcile science and religion. From time immemorial priests and ministers had chosen to regard earthquakes as manifestations of divine wrath. Even a minor earthquake is a sobering experience, and those responsible for the welfare of other human souls had availed themselves of these "awful events of Providence" to terrify sinners and to remind the righteous that they must not be weary in well doing. After the disturbance of 1727, Thomas Prince, a graduate of Harvard College and one of the pastors of the South Church in Boston, had preached on "Earthquakes the Works of God, and Tokens of His Just Displeasure" and his sermon had been published. Printed in large type at the head of the first page of the text was: "God Shakes the Earth because He is Wroth." Professor John Winthrop was deeply religious but this sort of theology pained him and he did not wish to have it accepted by the rising generation. Being a very wise man, he realized that it would do little good to take it away from them unless he gave them something to put in its place. Accordingly he

pointed out that the phenomenon was not supernatural, but natural—the result of certain laws of Nature. And with a slant toward pantheism, he averred that since God made those laws, they must be good. *We* may not be able to see beyond the inconvenience or even desolation caused by an earthquake, but that is due to our own limitations and not to any fault in the system God has established. Whatever happens as a result of those laws is good for the *whole*, of which we may see only a part. "I make no doubt," said he, "that the laws of nature were established, and that the operations of nature are conducted, with a view, *ultimately*, to *moral* purposes; and that there is the most perfect coincidence, at all times, between GOD's government of the *natural* and of the *moral* world."[13] As Tennyson expressed it about a century later:

That nothing walks with aimless feet;
That not one life shall be destroy'd,
Or cast as rubbish to the void,
When God hath made the pile complete.

About the time that Winthrop delivered this lecture, and perhaps because of it, the Reverend Thomas Prince decided to bring out a new edition of his 1727 earthquake sermon. From his point of view, it was timely, and as good now as in the year in which it was written. However, as the author did not wish to seem behind the times in his scientific knowledge, he added an "Appendix Concerning the Operation of God in Earthquakes by Means of the Electrical Substance." Electricity, thanks to Benjamin Franklin, was now the fashionable thing to know about and to talk about,—especially to talk about. As no one really knew very much about the "substance," it was easy to attribute to it almost anything one did not understand. So Mr. Prince, after showing how up-to-date he was, suggested that it was "a principal instrument in producing earthquakes," and that the great number of lightning rods recently erected in Boston were responsible for the fact that that town was "more dreadfully shaken" than any other in New England. They were intended to draw electricity out of the air; probably that was what they had done, and with this dire result. This may have sounded scientific to some ears, but not to those of Professor Winthrop, across the Charles in Cambridge. He knew too well that there was in some quarters a prejudice against lightning rods because they were regarded as human attempts to deflect divine wrath. Wasn't Prince strengthening that prejudice? Hadn't

he given his pseudo-scientific self away by supplementing his suggestion with these ejaculations: "O! there is no getting out of the mighty Hand of God! If we think to avoid it in the *Air*, we cannot in the *Earth*: Yea it may grow more fatal"? To John Winthrop's way of thinking, the reverend gentleman was doing harm by spreading misinformation, and someone ought to undo this harm before it was too late.

So, with malice toward none, but with fire in his usually benign eye, Professor Winthrop sought to enlighten both Mr. Prince and the public by printing his own lecture on earthquakes, and by adding to it an Appendix which would counteract the minister's misleading conjectures about electricity, lightning rods, and earthquakes. With urbanity, but also with superior knowledge and deadly scientific method, he exposed Mr. Prince's major fallacies. As he approached the end of the Appendix, his politeness began to wear off, but fortunately even there he did not let his wrath get the better of his dignity. The result was crushing, as the following excerpts will suggest:

> 4thly. I know no reason to think that "Boston was more dreadfully shaken" than other towns. Some of the effects of the earthquake may have been more considerable, for their number, there than elsewhere; but the reason of this is, not that "in Boston are more points of iron [i.e., lightning rods] erected than any where else in New England," but that there are more brick houses there. For the effect of a shock is more considerable upon brick-work than upon wood-work. The reasons of this are obvious; and that it is so in fact, plainly appeared by our chimnies being every where more shattered than any thing else: Though this was in part owing to their being the highest parts of buildings.
>
> 5thly. I should think, though with the utmost deference to superior judgments, that the pathetic exclamation, which comes next, might well have been spared. "O! there is no getting out of the mighty hand of God!" For I cannot believe, that in the whole town of Boston, where so many iron points are erected, there is so much as one person, who is so weak, so ignorant, so foolish, or, to say all in one word, so atheistical, as ever to have entertained a single thought, that it is possible, by the help of a few yards of wire, to "get out of the mighty hand of GOD."

As one admiring contemporary expressed it, Winthrop "laid Mr. Prince flat on his back," and the controversy should have ended then and there.[14] Unfortunately, however, human beings are human beings, professors are professors, and New Englanders are sometimes overintense. On the same day that they announced the publication of Winthrop's lecture (January 26, 1756), the printers of the *Boston Gazette* displayed on its front page the contents of a letter they had received from the Reverend Mr. Prince. In

this epistle the minister tried to persuade the public that the Professor's theory of the causes of earthquakes was substantially the same as that which he had set forth "above twenty-eight years ago," and that the difference in their positions at the present time was one of point of view: Prince was bound to look at the phenomenon from the standpoint of a student of divinity; because of his "academical office," Winthrop would, of course, regard it primarily from a scientific angle. He seemed to acknowledge Winthrop's greater knowledge of electricity, but instead of openly admitting his own error he chose to dodge the issue by turning ministerial at this point,—professing that he would prefer to be mistaken on a scientific point than be guilty of diverting the thoughts of any readers from "matters of infinitely greater moment." When it came to lightning rods as deflectors of the wrath of God, he tried to straddle the question: he began by stating that he "never was against erecting them," and ended with, "I am yet uncertain about their influence in earthquakes; the great thing I would *now* inculcate is—that every one wou'd consider seriously the mighty power of God acting in this terrible substance, and carefully guard against a vain and dangerous security in them: lest, in some way or other . . . the offended Deity make *that* in which we trust for safety, to be the very means of our destruction in a moment."

As Professor Winthrop was a very clear thinker, this kind of muddled cerebration filled him with disgust; furthermore, in the end Mr. Prince was back where he started from—trying to make the people believe that the Almighty, if offended, might depart from the natural laws He had established for governing the universe and punish them in some supernatural way. It is possible, too, that in some of the writer's more personal remarks the Professor saw unpleasant innuendoes that are not apparent to the modern reader. In any case, it seems as if he should have ignored Mr. Prince's lame defense, allowing him to have the last word and assuming that intelligent readers would discern its weaknesses without any assistance from him. But John Winthrop did not take that view. He felt that something more was called for, and he sat down and wrote it before his ire had cooled. What he had to say turned out to be too long for inclusion in the *Gazette*, but the printers were glad to issue it as a separate pamphlet of seven pages, which probably sold like hot cakes.[15] Although the Professor's argument was as good as ever his presentation of it now bristled with sarcasm and included unpleasant references to the minister's "too slender acquaintance with the laws of elec-

tricity" and "the present exigence of his affairs." Perhaps this blast from Cambridge was intended to be a good-natured satire, but it does not sound so; it is too heavy-handed, too personal, and too ironical for that. In short, it was terrific, and one cannot help wondering whether in the course of time Professor Winthrop did not regret its publication.

Mr. Prince's reply, which appeared in the *Gazette* of February 23, is interesting. Realizing that he was no match for this intellectual giant and master of rhetoric, he decided to turn pacifist and heap coals of fire on the head of his merciless opponent. And it must be admitted that he did it rather well, all things considered. In an eloquent preamble he announced that he freely forgave the treatment he had received from Mr. Winthrop and that it was not his intention to take any notice of the Professor's reflections on him. "I wou'd calmly seek for *Truth* and *not* for *Victory*: or if I vie with Mr. Winthrop, I would endeavour to equal him in those two essential characters of true politeness and true philosophy, *viz.* modesty and candor." This was followed by a eulogy of Governor John Winthrop of Massachusetts, whose descendants "ought to be ever highly valued and respected" because of his virtues. Then he proposed that the General Court should grant at least £100 per annum to the "very ingenious descendant of his, happily filling the mathematical and philosophical chair in Cambridge," "in testimony of grateful honour to their first renowned governour, and of respect to this descendant of his, as well as of their value for the mathematical arts and sciences, which deserve a vastly greater encouragement, and wou'd be our honor to show to the world that we highly esteem." In fact, he would like to see the Hollis Professor made a public officer who should pass upon the qualifications of surveyors and supply the province with useful scientific data. "And," he concluded, "if these now published notices may be the means of exciting others to bring about these proposals, I shall greatly rejoice in serving both my country and the professor. And in the mean while I think *this* to be one of the best ways of coming up with Mr. Winthrop for his treatment of me."

Although the closing sentence was an unfortunate, self-righteous anticlimax, the letter as a whole is a credit to the Reverend Thomas Prince, and before long it produced the desired effect on his adversary. On March 1, the *Gazette* published the following letter:

Cambridge, Feb. 24, 1756

Messi'rs Printers,

I LOOK upon my self to be greatly indebted to the Rev. Mr. Prince for the politeness express'd in several parts of his last letter. As nothing can be more disagreeble to me, than to maintain an unnecessary controversy, especially with a gentleman of Mr. Prince's distinction and character; and as this letter, if I mistake not, was not designed to enter into the merits of the case in debate betwixt him and me; I may well excuse my self from adding any thing upon that head. And tho' I can by no means think my self *fairly* treated, even in this last letter, yet I willingly suppress, at present, the remarks which naturally offer themselves upon it; and shall continue to do so, unless some new occasion should call for them; being desirous to avoid every thing that might tend to protract a dispute, which, as it is now, by a fate common to disputes, become *personal*, and has lost sight of its original subject, cannot, I presume, but be as disagreeable to the public, as, I am sure, it is to me. I shall therefore only say, what I hope I may say without offence, that my answer did not proceed from a desire of *Victory*, but of *Truth* and *Justice*.

J. Winthrop

Thus peace, or at least an armistice, was declared. But whether the two men ever spoke to each other between this time and Mr. Prince's death two or three years later, the present writer cannot say.

The middle years of the eighteenth century seem to have been an astronomers' paradise. Halley's comet, having been absent for about seventy-five years, was expected to return to human visibility toward the end of 1758 or the beginning of 1759. As early as 1705 Dr. Halley himself had predicted it for the year 1758.[16] Needless to say Professor Winthrop was on the lookout for it, and on the morning of April 3, 1759, he saw it, "low in the east and not very bright, with a tail about 3° or 4° long, directed obliquely upward, toward the S.W." He surmised that it "might have been seen much sooner, had not an uninterrupted succession of cloudy weather prevented it."[17] A little later in the month—on the eleventh and the eighteenth—he delivered in the College chapel two lectures on comets, just as he had lectured on earthquakes in 1755. As these were soon "published by the general desire of the hearers," we can read them to-day—and most of us with profit.

Winthrop had the gift of being able to make a scientific subject comprehensible to a non-scientific mind, and his lectures on comets are notable instances of it. He was what is often called "a born teacher." In the first lecture he defined and described comets, and disposed of the old-fashioned hypotheses about them. In the second, he explained "the true theory of Comets for which the world is indebted to the unparalleled invention of Sir Isaac

Newton." Toward the end he gradually changed from teacher to preacher, but not at the expense of scientific knowledge. Not he. He insisted that the appearance of a comet in the heavens should not be regarded as "a presage of some dire event"; that is mere superstition. On the other hand, the divine purpose behind the phenomenon may well be to arrest the attention of mankind "and to direct it to the supreme Governor of the universe; whom they would be in danger of totally forgetting, were nature always to glide along with an uniform tenor. These *exotic* stars serve to raise in our minds most sublime conceptions of God, and particularly display his exquisite skill." Comets being comets, the Professor would not guarantee that it was "impossible that any damage could ever be occasioned by any of them"; therefore, in closing, he advised his youthful audience, "The wisest course is to aim at such a rectitude of intention and firmness of resolution that, as Horace says,

Si fractus illabatur orbis,
Impavidum ferient ruinae."

[If the world's wreck should fall about him,
The ruins would crush him undismayed.]

Another of Halley's predictions was that there would be a transit of Venus over the disc of the sun, a phenomenon of considerable rarity, in the year 1761. According to Winthrop, "Dr. Halley pointed out a new and singular use to be made of the Transit of Venus; and to which no other phaenomenon in the heavens is near so well adapted. This is, in finding the Parallax of the Sun; which is so small that the Astronomers have never been able to discover it with exactness in any other method. If this were once known, the distance of the Sun, and of all the Planets, and of all the Comets would be known too; and their magnitudes would also be known, from their just diameters."[18]

As Halley, writing in 1716, did not expect to be living in 1761, he urged younger scientists to observe the transit of 1761 from various parts of the world, including Canada.[19] When the time for it was approaching, George II "was graciously pleased to provide for having this observation made in the most distant parts of Africa and Asia, as well as in his own observatory at home"; but nothing was done about an American observation until Professor Winthrop brought the matter to Governor Bernard's attention. Francis Bernard was an educated man; and though more at home in the arts than

in the sciences, he realized the importance of Winthrop's request and urged the Massachusetts Assembly to authorize his sending the Professor to Newfoundland on the sloop belonging to the Province.[20] The Assembly was more than agreeable to the proposition, and on May 9, 1761, Professor Winthrop, accompanied by two of his students "who had made good proficiency in mathematical studies," got aboard the Province sloop and in thirteen days arrived at St. John's, Newfoundland.* His equipment included the following instruments from the College apparatus in Harvard Hall: "an excellent pendulum clock; one of Hadley's octants with nonius divisions, and fitted in a new manner to observe on shore as well [as] at sea; a refracting telescope with cross wires at half right angles, for taking differences of right ascension or declination; and a curious reflecting telescope, adjusted with spirit-levels at right angles to each other, and having vertical wires for taking correspondent altitudes; or differences of altitudes and azimuths."

Well received and well treated by the authorities at St. John's, Winthrop set about finding a suitable spot from which to observe the transit. He had expected to make his observations from some house in the town, but as St. John's turned out to be "bounded with high mountains toward the sunrising," this was out of the question. After one or two fruitless attempts, he "fix'd on an eminence at some distance," from which they could obtain "a view of the sun presently after his rising." There he and his party pitched some tents, built a platform, and set up their instruments. These preparations and some preliminary operations occupied several days, during which time the mosquitoes were many and merciless; as Winthrop expressed it, "the infinite swarm of insects, that were in possession of the hill, . . . persecuted us severely and without intermission, both by day and by night, with their venemous stings."

At last the great day came, and the gods of the atmosphere were kind. The day was June 6, 1761. Though the sun rose behind a cloud that lay along the horizon, it soon got above it and at 4.18 A.M., the Professor and his student assistants "had the high satisfaction of seeing that most agreeable sight Venus on the sun, and of shewing it in our telescopes to the gentlemen of the place, who had assembled very early on the hill to behold so curious a spectacle." In a footnote Winthrop tells us, "In memory of so rare an obser-

* The students were Isaac Rand and Samuel Williams, both of the Class of 1761. Williams succeeded John Winthrop as Hollis Professor of Mathematics and Natural Philosophy in 1780.

vation, the gentlemen present agreed to give the hill, where our observatory was situated, the name of Venus's hill,"—which they may have done, but the present writer cannot honestly say that he has seen the place so designated on any map. The portion of the transit visible at St. John's lasted only about three-quarters of an hour. During that time Mr. Winthrop and the two students were distinctly busy; the Professor made observations, one of the young men recorded them, and the other counted the clock. One of the immediate results of these observations was Winthrop's conviction that "Venus instead of being equal in diameter to the Earth, according to the common opinion, is less, in proportion of 5 to 4," a conviction which all astronomers now seem to share. Another result was his ability to "predict with certainty what Dr. Halley . . . only suspected, that Venus will again pass over the sun on the 3d of June in the year 1769"; after that, not again till December 8, 1874, and after that, not till June 8, 2004.*

Among the scientific by-products of the expedition were a corrected latitude for St. John's, Newfoundland, and a corrected variation of the compass needle. A purely domestic by-product was a servant for the Winthrop household. This was Mary Wall, whom the Professor discovered in St. John's and persuaded to come to Cambridge as servant and apprentice to him and Mrs. Winthrop for a term of four years from July 14, 1761. When she returned to Newfoundland in the summer of 1765, Professor Winthrop wrote her father, "I took the same care of her as of our own children." He then gave a detailed list of her "Freedom Clothes"; the original agreement called for "a good suit of apparel fitting all parts of her body." He also listed the many clothes she had received from time to time as presents from her master and mistress, and added, "She can't want any more clothing for many years." The annexation of Mary appears to have been a happy event for all concerned. The Phillipses (Professor Winthrop's sister and her husband), who acquired her sister Elizabeth—probably "sight unseen"—were not so fortunate; she turned out to be "very wild."[21]

It was almost inevitable that Professor Winthrop and Benjamin Franklin should meet. Although the latter was not an astronomer, partly because he was not a trained mathematician, the field of physics gave the two men plenty of common ground. Besides being a hypnotizing personality, Franklin was full of scientific imagination; as Winthrop once told him (and the remark

* Either Professor Winthrop or his printer left out the transit of December 6, 1882,—a curious oversight.

pleased Franklin), he was "good at starting game for philosophers." In 1758 Franklin, "in pursuance of Mr. Winthrop's memorandum," procured in London more or less equipment for the laboratory at Harvard College. During the summer of 1763 the Professor "had the pleasure of a visit" from the learned Doctor.[22] About a year later he sent the Royal Society a summary of his *Relation of a Voyage from Boston to Newfoundland, for the Observation of the Transit of Venus*, which was published in volume LV of the Society's *Philosophical Transactions*. This was by no means the first communication he sent to the Royal Society; at least four from him had been read at its meetings during the preceding twenty-five years. But this seems to have been the one that led directly to his election to membership, which occurred on February 20, 1766. He was the third John Winthrop to be so honored, and easily the greatest scientist of the three. As Dr. Franklin was in London in 1765 and 1766, one surmises that he was one of Winthrop's sponsors and his principal advocate; but this is pure conjecture. We do know, however, that it was Franklin who persuaded the University of Edinburgh to confer on him the honorary degree of Doctor of Laws in 1771.* Two years after his election to the Royal Society, Winthrop was chosen a member of the American Philosophical Society, of which Franklin was the president.[23]

The year 1769 was a memorable one in the life of Professor Winthrop: both Venus and Mercury performed transits across the sun; a comet appeared in the eastern sky; and he himself was offered the presidency of Harvard College. It would have been even more exciting if the condition of his health had allowed him to journey through the wilderness to Lake Superior and observe the complete transit of Venus from that region. Maskelyne, the astronomer-royal at Greenwich, desired data from that angle, and Dr. Franklin hoped that Winthrop might perform this service; if not Winthrop, then perhaps one of his students. But Winthrop was not well, and the best he could do was to make an observation at Cambridge. This he did on the afternoon of June 3. The weather was satisfactory, but as the observer reported to the astronomer-royal, "Our situation on this American coast . . . was not the most favourable, as we could see only the first part of the transit."[24] The transit of Mercury occurred in the following autumn, on November 9.

* According to a contemporary, application was made first to Oxford; "but upon discovering that Mr. Winthrop was a Dissenter, they for that circumstance alone refused to give him a degree." *The Literary Diary of Ezra Stiles*, I. 308.

Winthrop observed it with a reflecting telescope, but without obtaining results of any consequence. The phenomenon began about eight minutes before three o'clock in the afternoon; but "the sun set before the planet reached the middle of his course," and, worse than that, "for a considerable time before sunset, it was so cloudy that the planet could not be discerned."[25] As to the comet of 1769, it was "chiefly remarkable for the length of its tail," which began with 30° "and soon rose to above 40°." This comet appeared about September 1, and Winthrop wrote a communication about it which was published in the *Boston Gazette* of October 2.

In June, 1769, President Holyoke died after a long illness. Professor Winthrop, who had been a member of the Corporation since 1765, presided at the Commencement exercises in July, and quite naturally the general expectation was that he would be the next President of Harvard College. "His learning and abilities are unquestionable," wrote the Reverend Andrew Eliot on July 10, and added, "He is older than we should choose, and is frequently taken off from business by bodily infirmities; but it is difficult to find one every way qualified, and who would be willing to undertake such a trust."[26] When the offer was made, Winthrop declined it; and in the course of a few months the office was filled by the Reverend Samuel Locke. For one reason or another Mr. Locke chose to resign in December, 1773, after a tenure of a little less than three years, whereupon the presidency was again offered to Professor Winthrop and was again declined by him.*[27] Doubtless his decision on each occasion was wise, for he possessed great wisdom as well as great learning. But Harvard lost thereby an illustrious president.

Today Mr. Winthrop is remembered chiefly as a scientist and a teacher, but his contemporaries were also impressed by the breadth of his interests and by his attainments in many fields. Dr. Jeremy Belknap, who was one of his students about 1760, wrote in later years: "He was an eminent classic scholar: he wrote Latin with elegance and purity, and few surpassed him in the Greek and Hebrew. He was also well versed in several of the modern languages of Europe. He was thoroughly acquainted with ancient theology, with the literature and philosophy of Egypt, Chaldea, and Greece; with the *jus civile*, and the politics of ancient and modern times."[28] Presumably he would have been a good administrator; that he was a great teacher is certain, for Belknap tells us: "He had a rare talent of communicating his thoughts

* He was, however, appointed Acting President and served the College in that capacity for several months.

in the most easy and elegant language, both in his private conversation and public lectures; by which the youth, who enjoyed the benefit of his instructions, were always highly entertained and delighted. Though his temper had sufficient sensibility, it was under so much command that with the mildest expressions, he preserved the strictest authority: and a word or look from him was always obeyed with the most profound respect." It is not surprising that Sir Benjamin Thompson, Count Rumford, looking back upon his boyhood when he attended some of Winthrop's lectures, referred to him as "that happy teacher."[29]

Although Harvard was unable to persuade Professor Winthrop to be its president, it succeeded in conferring on him a unique distinction: at Commencement in 1773 it gave him the honorary degree of Doctor of Laws; it was the first bestowal of that degree in the history of the College.[30] About three years later the President and Fellows celebrated the British evacuation of Boston by according the same honor to General Washington. But John Winthrop will hold forever the distinction of having received the first degree of LL.D. ever granted by his *alma mater*. A century and a half after his death Professor Winthrop and the lustre he shed on the College were still remembered, and the Corporation gladly gave his name to one of the Houses on the north bank of the Charles. Unlike the other Houses, Winthrop House has a first name, John; and as a number of John Winthrops have been connected with the University in the course of three centuries, the President and Fellows took pains to specify that it was their intention to commemorate in this way only two,—"the first Governor of Massachusetts and his direct descendant, the second Hollis Professor of Mathematics and Natural Philosophy."

In the decade between the passage of the Stamp Act and the outbreak of hostilities at Lexington and Concord Professor Winthrop found himself drawn into political life on the Patriot side. Elected a member of the Council in the spring of 1773, he served in that capacity in the ensuing year; reelected in 1774, he and twelve others identified with the Patriot cause were rejected by Governor Gage. But when the revolutionary Provincial Congress met at Salem, Concord, and Cambridge in the autumn of that year, Winthrop was one of the delegates representing Cambridge; and from July, 1775, until the end of the session of 1776–77, he was a member of the revolutionary Council, which had assumed the duties and powers heretofore en-

trusted to the governor. In September, 1775, he was appointed Judge of Probate for Middlesex County, which office he continued to hold for the remainder of his life.[31]

Early in the summer of 1775, when General Washington left Philadelphia to take command of the American army near Boston, John Adams provided him with a memorandum in regard to the local men "whose judgment and integrity may be most relied on." Third on the list of those whom he specifically recommended was "John Winthrop, Esquire, LL.D., of Cambridge."[32] On August 12 Winthrop wrote in his Diary, "With General Washington"; those three words constitute the entire entry for that day.

When Thomas Paine's pamphlet entitled *Common Sense* appeared in the winter of 1775–76, Professor Winthrop read it and heartily endorsed the proposal that the Colonies declare themselves independent of Great Britain. After Congress adopted the formal Declaration the Massachusetts Council appointed him one of a committee of three to consider how the contents of the document should be proclaimed to the people. This committee, of which he appears to have been the chairman, recommended that the Declaration be read from the balcony of the State House. The recommendation was approved by the Council, and the ceremony took place on July 18, 1776, before "a great concourse of people"; it has since become a regular part of the celebration of Independence Day in Boston.[33]

A day or two before the battle of Bunker Hill, the Provincial Congress ordered the removal of the college library and laboratory apparatus in Harvard Hall to Andover, Massachusetts. As an immediate result Professor Winthrop put in a strenuous day and a half of very careful packing.[34] The selection of Andover as a repository was probably due to the fact that Professor Winthrop was in residence there and had been for several weeks. On the nineteenth of April either he or Mrs. Winthrop, or both, had decided that the vicinity of the College Yard was going to be too lively a place for safety. Very recently the astronomer had been confined to his house by illness, and the commotion of the preceding night—cries in the darkness, drums beating, and bells ringing—must have been highly disturbing to a sensitive convalescent. No one knew what the British regulars would perpetrate on their return from Lexington and Concord; and when the Winthrops saw the brigade under Lord Percy come marching up from the river and by the side door of their house, they decided that the time had come for

them to go somewhere else. "After dinner," wrote Mrs. Winthrop, a month or two later, "we set out not knowing whither we went. We were directed to a place called Fresh Pond about a mile from the town, but what a distressed house did we find there filled with women whose husbands were gone forth to meet the assailants, seventy or eighty of these with numbers of infant children, crying and agonizing for the fate of their husbands." In the midst of these refugees, "some nodding in their chairs, others resting their weary limbs on the floor," Professor and Mrs. Winthrop passed what she rightly called "another uncomfortable night."

On the following morning it was reported that "the enemy were advancing up the river and firing on the town"; that seemed to make it inadvisable for them to return to their home near the College, and as some of their acquaintances were fleeing to Andover, the Winthrops decided to follow their example. There were five in the Winthrop party, and only "one poor tired horse and chaise" to transport them. "Thus," wrote Mrs. Winthrop, "we began our pilgrimage, alternately walking and riding, the roads filled with frighted women and children, some in carts with their tattered furniture, others on foot fleeing into the woods. But what added greatly to the horror of the scene was our passing through the bloody field at Menotomy [Arlington] which was strewed with the mangled bodies. We met one affectionate father with a cart looking for his murdered son and picking up his neighbours who had fallen in battle, in order for their burial." It was a depressing journey, and—in retrospect—a rather inglorious one. How the Professor regarded it is indicated, perhaps, in another part of the same letter, where his lady says: "I blush that I have so little fortitude to encounter the struggles we must expect to meet before the unnatural campaign is over. I must confess I sometimes indulge fears which excite mirth rather than sympathy in my philosopher."[35] At Andover Mr. and Mrs. Winthrop stayed first at "Mr. French's"; on May first they "remov'd to Mr. Nehemiah Abbot's."*

After it was settled that the whole College was to migrate from Cambridge, not to Andover but to Concord, Professor Winthrop and some of the laboratory apparatus were transferred to that town, where the Winthrops occupied the Whitney house, which later became Hawthorne's "Wayside."[36]

* A list of the furniture taken from Cambridge to Andover is preserved in the Winthrop Papers (MS.) of the Boston Public Library, 1. 66.

This period of exile ended in the spring or early summer of 1776,—when the College returned to Cambridge, and Winthrop to his comfortable home on the northwest corner of Mount Auburn and Boylston streets. The house faced south, and the view from it was of the river and the marshes, with the hills of Brookline, Brighton and Newton beyond. It was a modest, dignified dwelling, adorned with a doorway of unusual beauty; behind the house and to the westward of it there were extensive gardens and an orchard of cherry, plum, apricot, pear, and peach trees.[37] To Professor Winthrop this was home, and here he and Mrs. Winthrop entertained at one time or another a large number of persons whose names are connected with Massachusetts history; among the most frequent visitors were Colonel Otis (the father of James Otis), General James Warren, Samuel Adams, and John Hancock. Under date of September 28, 1778, he recorded in the interleaved almanac which he used for a diary: "A.M. Count d'Estaing and Marquis Fayette. Mrs. Warren and son to dinner."*

Winthrop married twice. His first wife was Rebecca Townsend, daughter of James and Elizabeth (Phillips) Townsend of Boston. Presumably they were married in the summer of 1746, for their intention to do so was officially recorded on July 1 of that year. After bearing him five sons, Mrs. Winthrop died at Cambridge on August 23, 1753, aged twenty-nine years.[38] About two years and a half later Professor Winthrop married Mrs. Hannah (Fayerweather) Tollman of Boston, the widow of Farr Tollman. Younger than he by about twelve years, she was a woman with a good mind and a taste for literature, as is evident in letters she wrote to her intimate friend Mercy Warren; Abigail Adams was another intellectual companion in her large circle of acquaintance. Mrs. Winthrop was, of course, the Hannah Winthrop for whom the Cambridge chapter of the D. A. R. was named.

When one looks at Copley's portrait of Professor Winthrop, now owned by Harvard University, one feels sure that Henry Pelham did not exaggerate when he pronounced it "a very striking likeness."[39] Certainly it looks exactly as a man of his character, interests, and ability should have looked, and one can imagine both Copley's enthusiasm for his subject and his delight in so successful a portrayal of it. The face is arresting and truly beautiful,

* An excellent idea of the interior of the house may be obtained by reading the room-by-room inventory of its furnishings, including portraits, in the Winthrop Papers (MS.) of the Boston Public Library, 1. 94.

—intelligent, reflective and, above all, serene. Here, indeed, is the countenance of one who might have said, without sentimentality,

> *Though my soul may set in darkness, it will rise in perfect light,*
> *I have loved the stars too fondly to be fearful of the night.*

Physically Winthrop was not a man of great stature. When ordering an academic gown in the autumn of 1771, he gave his height as five feet eight inches.[40] In a memorandum book, now in the Harvard University Archives, he jotted down his weight in May, 1771, January, 1772, and March, 1777; the figures are 132 lbs., 143 lbs., and 145 lbs., respectively. On these occasions he also made a record of Mrs. Winthrop's weight, which probably she would have destroyed if she had remembered that it existed; the figures for her are 175 lbs., 183 lbs., and 197 lbs. Toward the end of his life Professor Winthrop was afflicted with recurrent attacks of asthma from which he usually recovered satisfactorily after a few days of suffering and rest. His resiliency was remarkable; between these spells of ill health he was tremendously active, driving or riding to various outlying places several days in a week. In the summer of 1777 he toured the country around Lancaster, Massachusetts, and on August 22 "went to the top of Wachuset."[41] But in the spring of 1779 the situation became more serious and he died at his home on the third day of May. He seems to have had a premonition of his passing, for on the preceding day he uttered the following sentiments in regard to religion and immortality: "I view religion as a matter of very great importance. The wise men of antiquity set themselves to work to prove the reality of a future state. They catched at everything which had the shadow of probability. They gave a degree of plausibility to the arguments. They were sensible of the need they stood in, of such a doctrine. In opposition to the wise men of antiquity, the wise men of modern times have employed their abilities in undermining every argument in favour of immortality, and in weakening the only hope that can sustain us. But the light thrown on this matter by the glorious gospel, with me amounts to demonstration. The hope that is set before us in the New Testament is the only thing that will support a man in his dying hour. If any man build on any other foundation, in my apprehension his foundation will fail."[42]

Professor Winthrop's death occasioned many eulogies, including a sermon by President Samuel Langdon, a discourse by Professor Wigglesworth, an oration by Professor Stephen Sewall, thirty stanzas by Mercy Warren,

and an elegy by "a Gentleman, formerly his Pupil," who is said to have been Judge Andrew Oliver, of the Class of 1749. Less formal than these, but equally heartfelt, was the tribute paid to his memory by Abigail Adams in a letter she wrote to John Adams about a month later: "Our worthy friend, Dr. Winthrop, is numbered with the great congregation, to the inexpressible loss of Harvard College.

'Let no weak drop
Be shed for him. The virgin, in her bloom
Cut off, the joyous youth, the darling child,
These are the tombs that claim the tender tear
And elegiac song. But Winthrop calls
For other notes of gratulation high,
That now he wanders through those endless worlds
He here so well descried, and wondering talks,
And hymns their Author with his glad compeers.'

"The testimony he gave with his dying breath, in favor of revealed religion, does honor to his memory and will endear it to every lover of virtue. I know not who will be found worthy to succeed him."[43]

Professor Winthrop was buried near his ancestors in the King's Chapel Burying-ground. His mathematical library was bequeathed to Allegheny College in 1821 by his son James. "It includes more than a hundred volumes on pure and applied mathematics, practically all of them being well-known classics. . . . Among these books are a considerable number which are now rare, and there is none which would not today be considered worthy of a place in any mathematical collection."[44]

Madam Winthrop died at Cambridge early in May, 1790,—"the same chamber, the same bed, every object the same, the age of the patient, and the time of the year being the same as took place with respect to Dr. Winthrop at his death."[45]

Children, all by his first wife:

John, born September 17, 1747, died February 12, 1800. See p. 225.

Adam, born November 27, 1748, was drowned at sea, in February 1774. See p. 230.

Samuel, born July 20, 1750, died July 28, 1751.

James, born March 28, 1752, fought at the Battle of Bunker Hill, became one of the founders of the Massachusetts Historical Society, and died September 26, 1821. See p. 233.

William, born April 19, 1753, died February 5, 1825. See p. 254.

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36. John Winthrop's Diary, in his copy of *Bickerstaff's Almanack* for 1775; in the Harvard University Archives. When the British evacuated Boston, on March 17, 1776, Winthrop was at Watertown, attending to his duties as a member of the revolutionary Council. He was "called out of public worship about the middle of the first prayer in the afternoon to see the selectmen" from Boston. *New England Historical and Genealogical Register*, VIII (1854), 231.
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SAMUEL[5] WINTHROP (*Adam*[4], *Adam*[3], *Adam*[2], *John*[1]) was born in Boston, Massachusetts, on June 13, 1716, "just before one a Clock in the Morning" and "was baptized the next Sabbath at the North Church by Dr. Increase Mather."[1] Perhaps because he was a younger son in a large family he escaped attending both the Latin School and Harvard College. Nevertheless, he made his way and became a useful and much respected citizen. Before he was thirty, he was appointed one of the clerks of the Superior Court of Massachusetts, and in the course of time he became *the* Clerk of that judicial body.[2]

From 1749 on he appears now and then in the Diary of Benjamin Lynde, Jr., usually as host either to Judge Lynde or to the whole court.[3] About the beginning of 1774, thanks to John Adams, he emerges from the mists of time and becomes much more real. Adams was writing from memory, and probably many years after the incident, but those were stirring times and the chances are that his recollections were distinct and accurate. For almost a year the Patriots of Boston had been fuming about a new scheme of the British government which would place the judiciary of the provincial Superior Court on the British salary list and so render it independent of the will of the Massachusetts House of Representatives. An effort had been made to browbeat the justices into saying that they would not accept any grants from the Crown, but it was fairly clear that not all of them could be persuaded. John Adams believed in having the judiciary supported by the Province, but he also believed strongly in law and order and he feared the moral effect of having the judges intimidated by rioting or other forms of violence. How to bring about the desired result in a dignified, constitutional manner was a question that was very much on his mind. "Full of these reflections," he wrote, "I happened to dine with Mr. Samuel Winthrop at New Boston [now the West End], who was then clerk of the Superior Court, in company with several members of the General Court of both Houses, and with several other gentlemen of the town. Dr. John Winthrop, philosophical professor at college, and Dr. Cooper of Boston both of them very much my friends, were of the company. The conversation turned wholly on the topic of the day, and the case of the Judges."[4]

The conversation and the result thereof were of more interest to those present than to us of today, and need not be elaborated upon here. As far as we know, Samuel did not take part in that indignant colloquium; but we are grateful to Adams for telling us that he resided at "New Boston" and that he was host to a throng of Patriots. His house was on Cambridge Street; Winthrop bought it in 1760. It is a little odd that whenever we encounter him in journals written in his time, he is usually entertaining one or more persons at dinner or supper at his home,—odd because he was a bachelor. Of much more importance is the fact that he was, in the opinion of John Adams, "an excellent character,"—which means a good deal, for Mr. Adams was not given to indiscriminate praise.

In the summer of 1774 Adams and Winthrop met again, this time at

Samuel Winthrop
1716-1779

York, Maine; the Superior Court on circuit was holding sessions there, and Adams and other lawyers were on hand, either to argue cases already entrusted to them or to pick up new business. Winthrop was, of course attending to his duties as Clerk of the Court. From York they rode together through Wells and Saco to Falmouth (Portland) and talked of many things. As usual Mr. Adams was homesick for Boston and Braintree, but he found Samuel Winthrop a very agreeable companion. At the minister's house in Wells they shared the same bed, while "Josiah Quincy, always impetuous and vehement, would not stop, but drove forward." On the following day Adams and Winthrop jogged along together, and from Arundel the former wrote his wife:

> Mr. Winthrop has been just making some observations which I think worth sending to you. Upon reading an observation in the Farmer's fourth letter, that some sort of our (the Massachusetts) resolves and publications had better have been suppressed, Mr. Winthrop said that many things in our newspapers ought to have been suppressed, for example, whenever there was the least popular commotion or *disturbance*, it was instantly put in all the newspapers in this province. But in all the other provinces they took care to conceal and suppress every such thing.
>
> Another thing, he says we ought to avoid all paragraphs in our papers about our own manufactures, especially all vaporing puffing advertisements about them, because such paragraphs only tend to provoke the ministers, merchants, and manufacturers in England to confine and restrain or prohibit our manufactures.[5]

About two years later, in the spring of 1776, when the Superior Court was being reorganized, Judge William Cushing wrote, "We have appointed good Mr. Winthrop clerk"; to which Adams responded enthusiastically, "I am happy in your appointment of good Mr. Winthrop, whose experience will be useful in that station, and whose conduct and principles have deserved it."[6]

Though this Winthrop was not a graduate of Harvard, he was a good friend of the College. After the burning of Harvard Hall in 1764, he contributed "books and philosophical apparatus" valued at £5 5*s.*; and as late as May, 1776, we find the President and Fellows passing a vote thanking him for a book he had recently given to the Library.[7] This last item was volume III of *Political Disquisitions*; he had already presented the first two volumes. Volumes II and III are still on the shelves of the College Library and contain the Hurd bookplate carefully inscribed: "Ex dono Samuelis Winthrop, Bostoniensis, Armigeri."

Samuel Winthrop died in Boston on July 5, 1779, of dropsy and left no issue.[8] His will was administered by his brother-in-law John Phillips, of Boston, and his nephew James Winthrop of Cambridge.

There is a portrait of him by Copley in the Fogg Art Museum of Harvard University. It shows the countenance of an honest, intelligent, unassuming citizen,—one who minded his own business and in doing so won the respect and liking of men who were leaders and of men who were not. An obituary in the *Boston Gazette* of July 12, 1779, tells us: "On Monday the 5th inst. died at his house in this town, and on the Thursday following was buried, Samuel Winthrop, Esq. His extensive benevolence and numerous acts of kindness justly denominated him a father to the poor. His fidelity in matters of trust proved him a faithful friend. He was the only surviving brother of the late excellent Doctor Winthrop. Like him he was eminent for piety and every duty of religion. Like him he shone in every deed of goodness. He was not only eminent for his firm adherence to the doctrines of christianity, but for following the principles on which the country was first settled. He was uniformly like his ancestors, devoted to the interest of mankind, and the good of his country. From the beginning of our dispute he steadily proved himself an enemy of the claims of Great Britain, and considered the cause of his country as the cause of mankind."

References

1. Winthrop Manuscripts (Massachusetts Historical Society), 20. 81.
2. Massachusetts Historical Society *Proceedings*, xx (1882–83), 139*n*.
3. *The Diaries of Benjamin Lynde and of Benjamin Lynde, Jr., passim.*
4. John Adams, *Works*, II. 328–329; x. 237.
5. *Familiar Letters of John Adams and his Wife*, 8, 10–11.
6. John Adams, *Works*, IX. 390.
7. Josiah Quincy, *The History of Harvard University* (1860), II. 48; Corporation Records (MS.), II. 436, in the Harvard University Archives.
8. James Winthrop's Almanac for 1779, in the Harvard University Archives.

CHAPTER VI

The Sixth Generation

JOHN[6] WINTHROP (*John Still*[5], *John*[4], *Wait Still*[3], *John*[2], *John*[1]), of New London, was born in New London, Connecticut, on July 20, 1751, the eldest son of John Still Winthrop and his first wife Jane Borland.[1] His mother, who came from Boston, died when John was nine years old, and about a year and a half later his father married again. Perhaps there is some connection between these family events and the fact that when John was ten he was sent to the Boston Latin School, which he attended for five years.[2] There were Borlands in Boston, and there were Lindalls—his mother's mother's family—in Salem; and Boston schooling would mean good preparation for college, whether John went to Yale, his father's *alma mater*, or to Harvard. As it turned out, John went to Harvard, where he found himself in the same class with his first cousin Gilbert Saltonstall, of New London, and a distant cousin, William Winthrop, of Cambridge, the youngest son of the renowned Professor Winthrop.

John was admitted to Harvard in the summer of 1766; he was just fifteen. When the time for the midwinter vacation was approaching, he and Gilbert Saltonstall began to think how much pleasanter New London was than Cambridge and how agreeable it would be if they might start for home a little ahead of the other students. Accordingly they petitioned the Faculty to be allowed to set out for Connecticut two days early "lest they might be hindered by snow and bad weather when the Vacation begins."[3] Their reason was at least plausible, but the Faculty was stony and their request was "unanimously denied." In the following summer, however, the two boys from New London received better treatment and were allowed an extension of a week and a half on the brief summer vacation of those times. The only real difficulty John got into with the Faculty occurred in his Freshman year when he "falsified" in order to protect another student "in the affair of the lewd woman," as the Faculty vote expressed it. For this he was privately admonished in the presence of the President, Professors and Tutors. At Commencement in 1770 Winthrop received the degree of Bachelor of Arts, and four years later its customary aftermath, that of Master of Arts. Appar-

ently he was unable to be present at the exercises in 1773 and so did not receive his Master's degree at the usual time.

In June, 1776, John's father died, and he, being the eldest son, inherited a large portion of the family's landed property in Connecticut plus Fisher's Island. In time of peace this estate would have provided him with a comfortable income and a pleasant occupation. Unfortunately the country was at war with Great Britain, and New London was highly exposed to attack by the enemy. Nothing could have been more exposed than Fisher's Island, the pride and joy of the Winthrop family since its acquisition in the middle of the seventeenth century. In the summer of 1775 the British had descended upon the island and carried off 1100 sheep besides cattle and other provisions. At that time the property was leased to a Mr. Brown, and the enemy made reasonable compensation for what was taken away. Returning in March, 1777, the British helped themselves to almost everything that was useful and movable, including blankets, woolen cloth, and sheeting; in the summer of 1779 they came again,—while the owner was up in Massachusetts,—and, after appropriating what they wanted, set fire to the hay and buildings. During most of these years New London was practically blockaded by the enemy on the water side. Prices of all necessaries rose to fantastic heights and the inhabitants were recurrently alarmed by the prospect of invasion with fire and sword.[4] All things considered, it was a trying time for any resident, and especially so for John Winthrop. Early in the autumn of 1779 he wrote wearily to one of his brothers, "At present I'm fully employed getting in Corn, potatoes, etc.—or rather gleaning after the Military and civil, or uncivil, Thieves."[5]

When the spring of 1780 was drawing near, Mr. Winthrop applied to the Connecticut Council of Safety for permission to build a small brick house on Fisher's Island and put a family there to protect the estate. According to his statement, the buildings thereon were all burned and destroyed by the enemy, and the island, being left desolate, was "constantly plundered of the wood, etc." His petition was granted, but Winthrop did not live to see his plan carried into execution. For a long time his health had been poor, and no physician except one, Dr. Middleton, seemed to be able to help him. Unfortunately for the sufferer, Dr. Middleton was in New York,—and New York was within the British lines. As his local physicians advised him to make a journey to Virginia in quest of health, Mr. Winthrop asked the

Council of Safety for permission to pass through New York on his way in order to consult Dr. Middleton. This was granted on April 11, 1780.[6] Part of the plan was that his brother Thomas Lindall Winthrop, then in his Senior year at Harvard, should come down and meet him "in the Jerseys" and accompany him on his southern tour. But when the time approached, John had to write: "Now I am in so weak and feeble a state that I must foregoe all thoughts of such a Journey tho' my Inclination is as great or more so, especially when you are come so far. It grieves me to think of the Disappointment it will be to you. Be assured your kindness in complying with my desire of coming to meet me I shall not be unmindful of. I can only say I wish to see you. And if my Brother is permitted, pray acquaint him of all our Family matters as I want to know how they go."[7]

Apparently John was able to travel as far as New York, for he died in that city on November 15, 1780.[8] He was twenty-nine years old and unmarried.

Somewhat remotely this John Winthrop was responsible for the first publication of his ancestor's Journal or "History of New England." He inherited the manuscript from his father, and upon request lent it to Governor Jonathan Trumbull, of Connecticut. Trumbull and his secretary copied a considerable part of it, and their transcript became the basis of the first printed version,—the Hartford edition of 1790.[9]

References

1. Harvard College Faculty Records (MS.), III. 41; in the Harvard University Archives.
2. Henry F. Jenks, *Catalogue of the Boston Latin School*, 82.
3. Harvard College Faculty Records, III. 33.
4. *The Public Records of the State of Connecticut*, II. 509; Frances Manwaring Caulkins, *History of New London*, 517, 525, 530; *The Holyoke Diaries, 1709–1856*, 100.
5. Winthrop Manuscripts (Massachusetts Historical Society), 30A. 3.
6. *The Public Records of the State of Connecticut*, II. 509; Massachusetts Historical Society *Collections*, Seventh Series, III. 20, 21.
7. Winthrop Manuscripts (Massachusetts Historical Society), 30A. 5.
8. George Adlard, *The Sutton-Dudleys of England and the Dudleys of Massachusetts in New England*, 126.
9. Massachusetts Historical Society *Proceedings*, XII (1871–73), 235; John Winthrop, *History of New England* (1853), I. xvi.

FRANCIS BAYARD[6] WINTHROP (*John Still*[5], *John*[4], *Wait Still*[3], *John*[2], *John*[1]), the second son of John Still Winthrop and his first wife, Jane Borland, was born in New London, Connecticut, on March 11, 1754. As his "given" names are a noticeable departure from Winthrop precedents, they call for a little explanation. The name Francis came from his mother's side; her father, Francis Borland, was a prominent Bostonian and a pillar of the Old South Church. The name Bayard came from New York and reflected John Still Winthrop's friendship and admiration for Colonel William Bayard, merchant and extensive landowner of Manhattan Island; the Bayards were patricians, and their ancestors had come over in 1647 with Governor Peter Stuyvesant,—in fact, Stuyvesant's wife was a Bayard. The cordial relations between the Winthrops and the Bayards went back at least to the 1720's, when John Winthrop, F.R.S., the infant's grandfather, used to entertain Samuel Bayard at New London. In the next generation John Still Winthrop was host to Colonel William Bayard, who, it seems, was staying at the house in New London about the time his namesake was born. In a letter from New York, dated early in April, 1754, the Colonel wrote: "As I had not the pleasure of seeing Mrs. Winthrop before I came away, I hope you have been so good as to make an excuse for disturbing her so much,—though hope ere this she is well recovered, and that my godson grows a fine boy."[1]

Unlike two of his brothers, Francis went neither to Harvard nor to Yale but directly into business in New York. There, in spite of the complications which followed the British occupation of the city during the American Revolution, he prospered. His godfather, Colonel Bayard, was a thorough-going Loyalist and suffered the loss of most of his property because of his devotion to the old order, but Winthrop seems to have been a middle-of-the-road man who succeeded in keeping on good terms with both the British and the Americans. In the summer of 1777 he arrived in the harbor of New London on the flag-of-truce sloop, *Union*, out of New York, and obtained permission to visit his brother John and others until the ship should set sail for her return voyage.[2] Toward the end of the war he gave about £100 for the relief of "prisoners lately taken from New London and Groton [Connecticut] by the enemy in their incursion there and carried to New York and confin'd in the Sugar House there naked and in a suffering condition." As it turned out, this kindness on his part paid an unexpected dividend before

Francis Bayard Winthrop
of New York

long; when some presents he had sent to the family at New London were seized by a privateer, the Connecticut Governor and Council of Safety remembered his generosity and recommended that the goods—"a pair of silver cans, silk for gowns for his five sisters, and a few other small articles"—be delivered to the persons to whom they were addressed.[3]

Soon after December, 1781, Francis Winthrop appears to have gone to England. At any rate his Aunt Anne Winthrop at New London wrote him an affectionate letter in which she mentioned his prospective departure from his native land and expressed her hope that he would have a happy meeting with his friends "on the other side of the water." This letter was entrusted to the care of his brother William who had received special permission from the local authorities to go into British-held New York in order to talk over various family affairs with Francis. In some ways the American Revolution was a curiously friendly war.[4]

Upon the untimely death of his brother John, which occurred in the autumn of 1780, Francis found himself the head of his branch of the Winthrop family. This meant, of course, additional responsibilities. There was, for instance, the lead mine in Sturbridge, Massachusetts, and the tract of three or four thousand acres that included it. In 1785 Silas Deane and some English acquaintances thought of buying it, and Francis Winthrop was more than open-minded about selling; but neither party could accomplish very much because so many heirs of John Still Winthrop were involved, or claimed to be involved, in the ownership of it. Another task was the settlement of a dispute between the Winthrops and the Saltonstalls in regard to much of the land in the estate of their grandfather, John Winthrop, F.R.S. This was achieved in 1788,—but the Saltonstalls won.[5]

After 1790 Francis Bayard Winthrop was primarily a man of property in New York, with an office in Wall Street and membership in the British-loving Society of Saint George; but he never lost his affection for New London and the family domain there. In a letter to his brother Thomas Lindall Winthrop, written from New York in 1803, he stated: "Upon recollection there is a very remarkable mineral spring under the stables I built for the mansion house at New London, now the property of John Coles. I remember its being in great repute and much resorted to, when I was a boy. I think you must remember this spring. It is about 3 miles from the sea, which answers to the distance in the Memo of Articles presented to the Royal Society. I

recollect a Doctor Smybet of Boston, who visited our father, say about 33 or 34 years ago in company with Doctor Moffatt, say this spring was the finest he ever examined."[6] It was Francis Winthrop who sold the homestead at New London; but he kept Fisher's Island, and leased it in 1793 to Thomas Allen, Jr.,for $2600 *per annum*.[7] Had he not rented it, he might have retired to the Island as a refuge when the yellow fever swept through the cities of our seaboard in the summer of 1798. Instead, he secluded himself and his immediate family at his "Turtle Bay Farm"—on the east side of Manhattan Island, near the present Forty-sixth Street—and kept out of "the City" until a severe frost had checked the epidemic.[8]

Though never a member of the Massachusetts Historical Society, Mr. Winthrop was keenly interested in its early publications; writing to his brother Thomas Lindall Winthrop, of Boston, in January, 1792, he urged him to continue to send him "the Weekly Nos. of the American Apollo." The first thirty-nine numbers of this periodical contained, among other things, material that was included later in volume 1 of the Society's *Collections*. About twenty years later he gave the Society "a large trunk of books and pamphlets, chiefly of ancient date, among which are many valuable tracts concerning the early History of New England." Supposedly, at least, he was the donor to the New York Historical Society of a manuscript copy of Governor John Winthrop's "A Modell of Christian Charity."[9] And certainly, in 1812, he gave the New York Society Library over two hundred volumes that had formerly belonged to his great-great-grandfather, John Winthrop, Jr., governor of Connecticut. This collection has been termed "unquestionably the largest fragment of a colonial scientific library now extant in the United States."[10]

Francis Bayard Winthrop married twice: (1) on or about April 22, 1779, Elsie Marston, daughter of Thomas Marston, of New York;[11] (2) on May 15, 1790, Phebe Taylor, daughter of John Taylor of the firm of Taylor and Delancy, merchants, of New York.[12] Mr. Winthrop died in New York, on May 16, 1817. His widow died on August 20, 1841. A miniature of him by William Dunlap is reproduced in the *Diary of William Dunlap* (New York Historical Society *Collections* for 1929), 1, facing p. 294. The portrait reproduced in the present work is owned by Robert Winthrop, of New York; the painter has not been identified. The face is that of a vigorous, practical man of affairs,—determined but not hard. To his brothers he may have

seemed hard in 1816, when he tried to call in $14,773.40 of principal and interest due from Joseph, and $13,281.55 owed him by Thomas; but to the present writer his position was at least understandable: he was nearing the end of his life and wanted to put his house in order. Neither of the brothers had paid his interest charges for a number of years. As Francis explained to Thomas, who appeared to be on the sunny side of Easy Street but perhaps wasn't during the severe economic depression that came with peace after the War of 1812: "If I am to be called upon to lend money and receive nothing for it, how am I to pay my own debts and to support my family? I have denied myself many indulgences because so much of my property has been locked up. My mode of living and the furniture of my house are not such as I should indulge myself with, if I received what I ought to do, to make it otherwise. And in addition to my own family expenses I may add a great part of Sister Parkin's, for the small income she has does not support them, and without my aid they could not live."[13]

His true nature is revealed in a letter written more than forty years earlier —when he was twenty—to his brother, Thomas Lindall Winthrop, then a boy of fourteen. Francis was traveling and visiting in Massachusetts and wrote from "Glocester" on May 17, 1774:

Dear Brother,

I RECEIVED a line from Brother Johney the other day in which he told me you ware gone to live at Lebanon, which gave me great pleasure to here of. As you are very fond of learning and you are now at a good School, hope you will Imbrace all opportunity to improve it. I am very glad you have got so good a place to board at and hope your behavour will be such as to gain the esteem of them you live with and also your School Master. As Brother John is at home, hope you will write me by him. I shall go to New London next September and then I intend to take Lebanon in my way on purpose to see you. As I shall stay but a few days at home, you will not be able to meet me there. And now, Dear Brother, if you want anything that I can conveniantly git for you here and carry with me when I go, if you will write me what it is I shall git for you, I will git it with great pleasure. When you write me, send your letter to Brother Billi at Norwich and he will forward them to me by the way of Boston. When I come to Lebanon, you may be just a going home and then we shall both go to N London together. But let that be as it will, I shall sertainly come and see you—so that about the 20th of September you may be upon the lookout for me. Hope to here from you soon and that you like your school. With Compliments to Mr. and Mrs. Williams and to your Master. Being in haste, can only add that I am

Your very Affectionate Brother

Francis B. Winthrop

Children by his first wife, Elsie Marston:

Cornelia, born January 1, 1780, married Charles Williams Taylor, March 4, 1801, and had issue.

Ann, born May 26, 1783, died August 16, 1783.

John Still, born February 14, 1785, died in Perry County, Illinois, September 6, 1855. See p. 263.

Francis Bayard, born March 20, 1787, died at New Haven, Connecticut, March 21, 1841. See p. 265.

Children by his second wife, Phebe Taylor:

William Henry, born September 25, 1791, died at New London, Connecticut, September 3, 1860. See p. 274.

Charlotte Ann, born January 8, 1794, married John Myer Aspinwall, November 18, 1816, had issue, and died in April, 1851.

Thomas Charles, born June 9, 1797, married Georgiana Maria Kane, had issue, and died May 31, 1873. See p. 278.

Mary Jane, born January 26, 1799, married Thomas Parkin, October 26, 1823, and had issue.

References

1. Winthrop Manuscripts (Massachusetts Historical Society), 10. 144.

2. *The Public Records of the State of Connecticut*, I. 333, 335.

3. *Ibid.*, III. 549.

4. Winthrop Papers (Massachusetts Historical Society), 1B. 71; *Public Records of the State of Connecticut*, III. 551.

5. New York Historical Society *Collections*, XXIII (1890), 452–453, 502; 504; Connecticut Historical Society *Collections*, XXIII. 214–216.

6. Winthrop Manuscripts (Massachusetts Historical Society), 9A. 67; 30A. 14. For mention of the spring in the "Memo of Articles presented to the Royal Society," see *American Journal of Science*, XLVII (1844), 288.

7. Henry L. Ferguson, *Fishers' Island*, p. 62.

8. Winthrop Manuscripts (Massachusetts Historical Society), 30A. 13; Charles H. Haswell, *Reminiscences of an Octogenarian*, 14.

9. Massachusetts Historical Society *Collections*, Second Series, II. 285; Third Series, VII. 31.

10. Colonial Society of Massachusetts *Publications*, XXI. 189*n.*; Austin Baxter Keep, *History of the New York Society Library*, 269; *Isis*, XI (1928), 326.

11. *New York Genealogical and Biographical Record*, XLVII. 179, 296. According to Josephine C. Frost (*Ancestors of Henry Rogers Winthrop*, 14), they were married "by Rev. Charles Inglis in Trinity Church, New York, April 22, 1779."

12. John E. Stillwell, *Historical and Genealogical Miscellany*, V. 58. According to Josephine C. Frost (*Ancestors of Henry Rogers Winthrop*, 14), they were married "by Rev. Benjamin Moore, Rector of Trinity Church, New York, May 15, 1790." A portrait of this Mrs.

Winthrop is reproduced in M. Lloyd Woolsey's *The Winthrop Manor of Fishers Island*, 19.

13. Winthrop Manuscripts (Massachusetts Historical Society), 30A. 69.

WILLIAM[6] WINTHROP (*John Still*[5], *John*[4], *Wait Still*[3], *John*[2], *John*[1]), of New London and New York, the third son of John Still Winthrop and his first wife, Jane Borland, was born in New London, Connecticut, on June 5, 1756. Unlike his older brother John and his younger brother Thomas, William did not go to college. Upon becoming twenty-one years old, he came into a modest amount of money bequeathed to him by his great-grandfather Lindall of Salem, Massachusetts.[1] With this capital in prospect he established himself in business at Norwich, Connecticut, just up the river from New London, as early as 1774. Being a bachelor, he kept in fairly close touch with the members of the family living at the old homestead, and he is frequently mentioned in letters written by his brother John, who reports William's occasional trips to Hartford—to buy sugar, or a horse, or to transact other business.[2]

Like his brothers and sisters, William sometimes visited in Massachusetts, especially in Salem where the Lindall relatives still flourished and—until 1781—his Aunt Katherine (Mrs. Epes Sargent) lived in the grand manner. William Pynchon, a prominent lawyer of Salem, records seeing him there in the spring of 1782, and one of the entries in his Diary gives the impression that even in those days New Englanders regarded New Yorkers as if they were a different species: "April 16.—*Tuesday*. A fine, pleasant day. Mr. W. Winthrop from N. London, and gives an account of people at New York."[3] But what the diarist probably had in mind was Winthrop's narrative of a visit he had recently made within the British lines. In the preceding November the Governor and Council of Safety of Connecticut had granted him permission "to go into New York under the protection of a Flag, either by water or land, to transact business with Wm. Brown, Esq, from whom a large sum is due his father's estate, and also settle some family matters with his brother Francis and respecting his brother John's affairs who has died there."[4] Naturally the Pynchon household was interested to learn how Americans fared in British-occupied Manhattan. William Winthrop was much younger than

Mr. Pynchon, but their attitudes toward the American Revolution seem to have been a good deal alike. Much might be said on either side of the controversy, but there was only one thing to do—mind your own business and await the outcome of the war. That was exactly what they did.

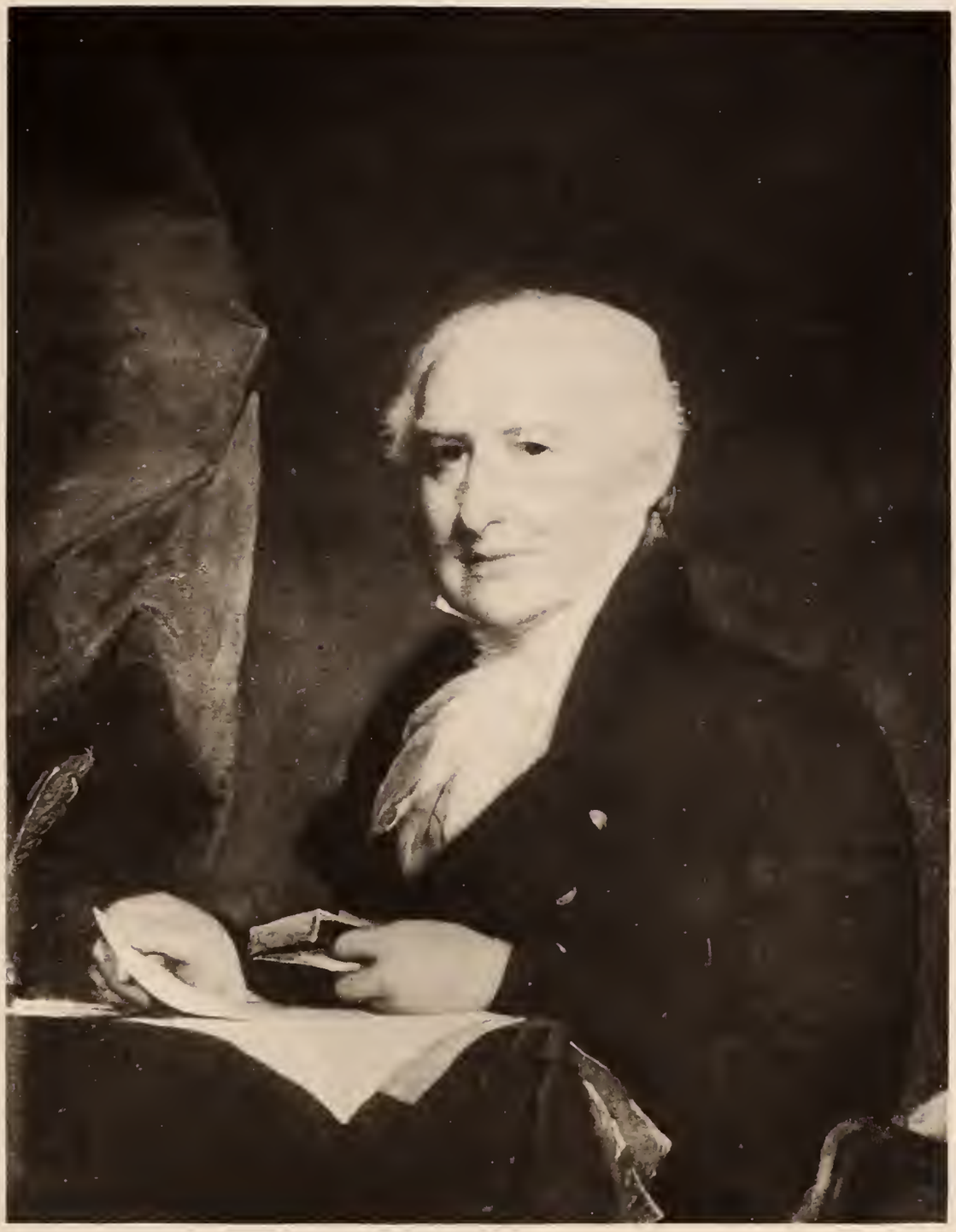
After the war William appears to have been a merchant in or near New London until about 1794; then the great commercial possibilities of New York plus the fact that his brother Francis and his half-brother Benjamin were doing very well there led him to follow the other Winthrops to Manhattan Island.[5] He made his home with Francis,—at Turtle Bay, on the east side near the present Forty-sixth Street.[6] In the New York *Directory* of 1810 he is listed as a merchant, with an office at 53 Wall Street. After that year his name does not appear in *Longworth's American Almanac, New York Register, and City Directory*. Among his investments were some "Huron [Ohio] Lands" which he was determined to visit when he was over sixty years old. "It is a long tedious journey," commented his brother Thomas, "and I hope he will get safe back again. He would do well to dispose of his lands there, and purchase nearer home."[7]

William Winthrop was unmarried and died in New York on April 27, 1827. A portrait of him by Gilbert Stuart is reproduced herewith; the original is owned by Robert Winthrop of New York.

References

1. *New England Historical and Genealogical Register*, VII (1853), 20.
2. Winthrop Manuscripts (Massachusetts Historical Society), 30A. 2, 3.
3. *The Diary of William Pynchon*, edited by Fitch Edward Oliver, 119.
4. *The Public Records of the State of Connecticut*, III. 551.
5. His name appears in the New York *Directory* of 1794.
6. Winthrop Manuscripts (Massachusetts Historical Society), 30A. 19.
7. *Ibid.*, 30A. 71.

JOSEPH[6] WINTHROP (*John Still*[5], *John*[4], *Wait Still*[3], *John*[2], *John*[1]), the fourth son of John Still Winthrop and his first wife, Jane Borland, was born in New London, Connecticut, on June 19, 1757. Instead of going to college, Joseph went into business at an early age. Thanks to a bequest from



William Winthrop
of New London and New York

his great-grandfather Lindall he came into some money when he was twenty-one.[1] He also had enterprise, and putting the two together he moved to Charleston, South Carolina, in 1783 and became the senior member of Winthrop, Tod and Winthrop, merchants.[2] The junior Winthrop was his brother Thomas Lindall Winthrop, who had recently returned from a sojourn in England and on the Continent. After a few years the younger brother went back to New England; but Joseph remained in the South and, in the course of time, prospered. Possibly the business flourished from the beginning, but the fact that in 1789 Joseph had to relinquish some real estate in Boston to his creditor, John Codman—to meet an obligation of more than £2000—makes this appear unlikely.[3] The period in which Winthrop, Tod and Winthrop commenced as merchants was beset with many difficulties. From the point of view of his younger brother Thomas, Joseph was too easy-going to be really successful. His older brother Francis must have been somewhat of the same opinion, for in 1816 Joseph owed him about $15,000 and was behind in his interest payments.[4]

In the autumn of 1788 Joseph Winthrop married Mary Fraser, daughter of Alexander Fraser, of Charleston, and sister of Charles Fraser who later won distinction as a painter of miniatures. They had eleven children, but the male line is now extinct. When the New England Society of Charleston was organized in 1819, Mr. Winthrop was chosen its vice-president; in the following year he was elected president.[5] He died on July 26, 1828, and was buried in St. Michael's Churchyard.

His widow died on September 17, 1832.[6]

A portrait of Joseph Winthrop by Gilbert Stuart was in the possession of the heirs of his son Joseph Augustus Winthrop about 1878.

Children:

Mary, born August 26, 1789, died unmarried, in Charleston, South Carolina, September 14, 1846. Her "life was one of severe bodily suffering, but eminent Christian piety and resignation."[7]

Joseph Augustus, born January 15, 1791, married February 19, 1818, Maria Evelina, daughter of Thomas Parker, of South Carolina, had issue, and died February 2, 1864.[8] See p. 279.

Jane, born July 21, 1792, died unmarried, in Anderson, South Carolina, February 2, 1862. In 1859 she was taxed in Charleston on real estate valued at $2000, interest at $140, and one slave. A miniature of her as a little girl, painted by her uncle Charles Fraser, is reproduced in *Charles Fraser*, by Alice R. Huger Smith and D. E. Huger Smith, facing p. 2.[9]

Frederick, born February 6, 1794, died—apparently without issue—June 22, 1851.[10]

William, born August 7, 1795, died—apparently without issue—December 2, 1848.

Augustus, born July 3, 1797, died—apparently without issue—March 30, 1844.

Charles, born February 23, 1800, died without issue, March 22, 1833. He owned a plantation called "Wigton," on Goose Creek, a few miles out of Charleston.[11] Shortly after his death his uncle Charles Fraser wrote: "He has died young, but it is our comfort that he has lived long enough to establish a character for honor and worth that enhances the regret of our community for his loss."[12] A beautiful miniature of him, painted in 1827 by his uncle Charles Fraser, is reproduced in *Charles Fraser*, by Alice R. Huger Smith and D. E. Huger Smith, facing p. 20.

Elizabeth, born October 1, 1801, died unmarried, September 18, 1885.[13] In 1859 she was taxed in Charleston on real estate valued at $2000, and on interest at $140.

Henry, born January 15, 1803, became a physician in Charleston, and died unmarried, July 22, 1890. See p. 280.

Ann Susan, born January 9, 1805, died unmarried, January 14, 1857.

John Alexander, born June 6, 1809, died—apparently without issue—in 1883. He was a wood-factor in Charleston.[14]

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6. Clare Jervey, *Inscriptions on the Tablets and Gravestones in St. Michael's Church and Churchyard*, 299.
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8. Winthrop Manuscripts (Massachusetts Historical Society), xxxv. 121.
9. *Ibid.*, xxxv. 121; *List of Tax Payers of the City of Charleston, for 1859*, 374.
10. Clare Jervey, *Inscriptions*, 298.
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12. Winthrop Manuscripts (Massachusetts Historical Society), 30a. 103.
13. Clare Jervey, *Inscriptions*, 298.
14. Ellery Kirke Taylor, *The Lion and the Hare*, Chart 1, column 7.

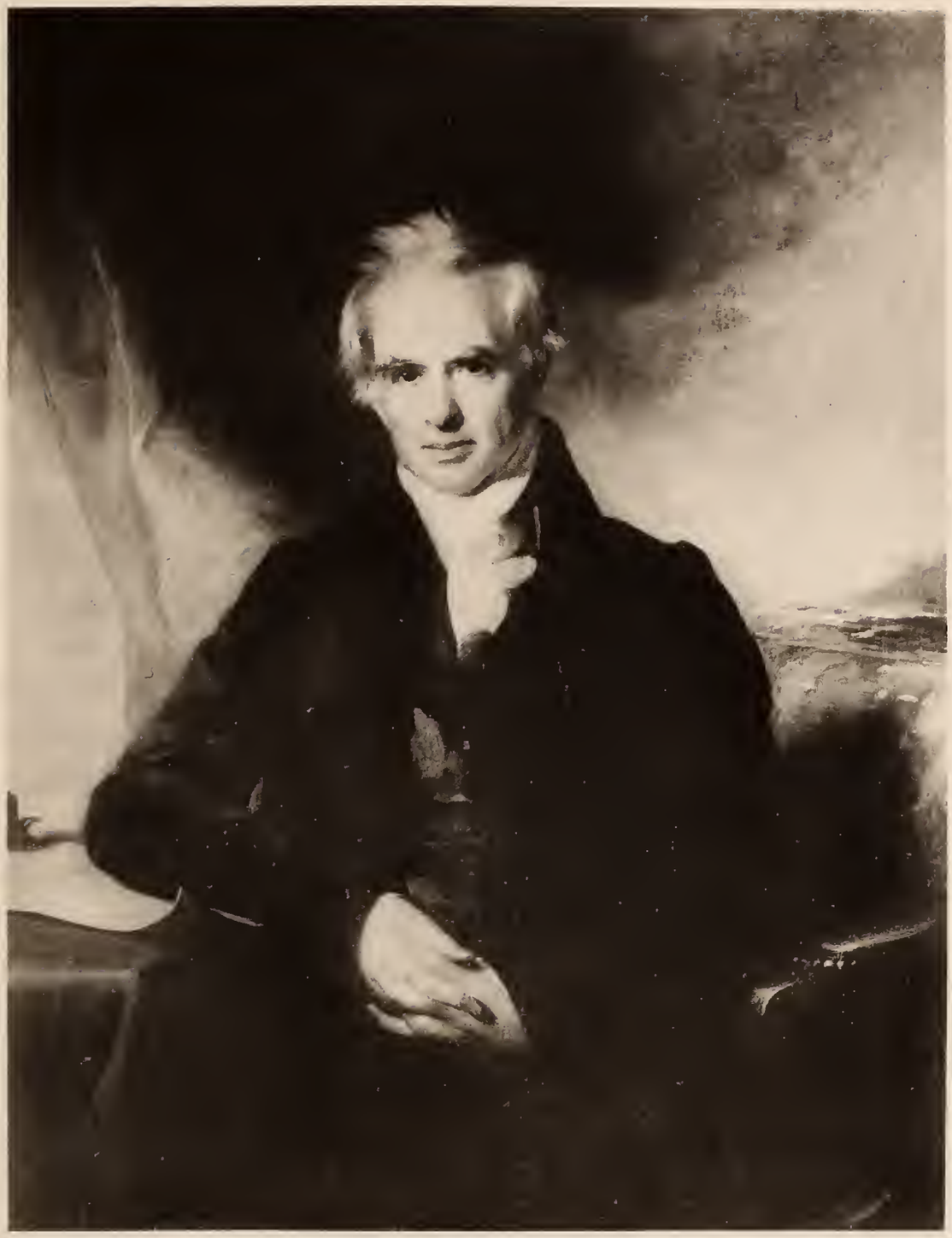
THOMAS LINDALL[6] WINTHROP (*John Still*[5], *John*[4], *Wait Still*[3], *John*[2], *John*[1]), the youngest son of John Still Winthrop and his first wife, Jane Borland, was born in New London, Connecticut, on March 6, 1760. Except for the fact that his mother died a few weeks later, Fortune smiled upon him from the very beginning. In December, 1759, his mother's maternal grandfather, Timothy Lindall, of Salem, Massachusetts, was more than eighty years old and felt that his long, happy, successful life could not last much longer. Apparently he had only one remaining wish, and that was a great-grandson whose given name should be either Thomas Lindall or Samuel Lindall;[1] all his own children who lived to grow up had been girls, so there was no prospect of a direct descendant to carry on the family name as a surname. But there were Borlands as a result of his daughter Jane's marriage to Francis Borland, of Boston,—and there were Winthrops as a result of her daughter Jane's marriage to John Still Winthrop, of New London. Two Borland great-grandchildren had already been named John Lindall and Francis Lindall;[2] but from the old gentleman's point of view, that was not enough. He was especially fond of his granddaughter, Jane Borland Winthrop; and when he learned that she was expecting her eighth baby, he suggested that—if it should prove to be a boy—he would like to have him named as indicated above. A boy it was, and before he was many months old he received a present from his appreciative great-grandfather Lindall.[3]

Early in the summer of 1760 Mr. Lindall made his will. A little later he intimated the likelihood of a bequest of some sort to the baby, and his word was as good as his bond; Timothy Lindall's word always was. When he died in October, 1760, it was found that to the older Winthrop children he had left 2000 dollars, to be put at interest until they should come of age.[4] To the youngest, Thomas Lindall Winthrop, he had bequeathed the land, warehouse, wharf, and flats in Salem that he had bought of a Mrs. Jennison; also other land in Salem; and, after the death of his widow, the mansion house in Salem and the farm in Danvers.* Thus endowed before he was a year old, "Tommy" was naturally drawn more and more toward Massachusetts as time went on. His father was a good manager and he administered the property well as long as he lived.[5]

* The farm was "Lindall Hill"; in 1795 Mr. Winthrop sold it to William Burley, who owned "Burley Farm." Harriet Silvester Tapley, *Chronicles of Danvers*, p. 33.

When his father died in 1776, Tom was sixteen years old and about to enter Yale College, his father's *alma mater*. He had been prepared by a Mr. Tisdale, of Lebanon, Connecticut.[6] To Yale he went, but about the middle of his Junior year he decided to transfer to Harvard. No reasons are given for this decision on his part, but it is not unlikely that he was influenced by the fact that both his oldest brother, John, and his cousin Gilbert Saltonstall of New London, had spent four years up in Cambridge and had graduated from the College in 1770. Whatever his reasons may have been, he now applied to Harvard for admission and submitted "a recommendatory Dismission" from President Stiles of Yale. After he had been examined, the Harvard Faculty voted "that he be admitted into the Junior Sophister Class," or what we should call the Junior class. Thus he became a Harvard undergraduate in the spring of 1779.[7] A year later the Faculty voted that he should deliver "an English Oration" as part of the program to be performed "before the Committee of Overseers at their next Semi-annual Meeting"; but perhaps it should be added that next to his name in the record of the vote, one finds the following postscript: "N.B. it was not deliver'd."[8]

About all one can say about Winthrop's career at Harvard is that he impressed one of his classmates as being "a very good scholar and of distinguished rank in society,"[9] and that he received his Bachelor's degree in July, 1780. In and around Cambridge his nickname was "English Tom." Soon after graduation he made a tour on horseback, with a servant to accompany him. Robert C. Winthrop, who heard his father tell the story more than once, gives us an anecdote of that journey to the west and south: "He had ridden along through our own State, and had crossed over into New York. He had breakfasted at the Fishkill Inn, or, it may have been, the Inn at Fishkill Landing, and was just ready to mount his horse again, when a party of officers rode up and alighted, and sat down to the same table from which he had risen. They were Washington and his Staff. After a brief interval, my father rode on, and, in the course of the day, met a negro soldier coming through the woods. 'What news, Sambo?' said my father. 'Great news!' exclaimed the negro. 'General Arnold, he gone off!' 'Why, if you dare to tell such a story, you will be hung on the next tree.' 'My Captain, he close behind and he will tell you it is true.' And the Captain and his company soon appeared, and confirmed the tidings. Of course all was confusion along the



Thomas Lindall Winthrop
1760 - 1841

line of the Hudson. But my father always spoke of the calm composure of Washington that morning. He was still, however, to be informed of the startling tidings of André's capture and Arnold's treason."[10]

In the following February (1781) Tom Winthrop wrote a letter to one of the family at New London in which he announced his intention of going to England and Continental Europe in spite of the war then going on between England on one side and the United States, France, Spain, and Holland on the other. As he was a great favorite in the family circle, this news was most disturbing. His stepmother could not see that it was necessary for him to do anything so hazardous, but she gave him her blessing and assured him of her ardent love. His prospective brother-in-law, William Stewart, wrote him a flowery letter in which he described the distress of the daughters of the Winthrop household, Jenny, Nancy, and Polly: "Their tender bosoms are greatly moved, whilst the trembling tear sits drooping on their eye and filial affection excites a variety of fears from the dangers you may be subjected to." That his plan was a blow to his older sister Jane ("Jenny") is beyond all doubt if one reads the affectionate letter she wrote him on hearing the news; she addressed him "My dear, dearest Brother," and toward the end she poured herself out: "The more I think of your going the harder I find it. It seems as if our Family was breaking all to pieces; scarcely a day passes but I think our sisters and myself have something new to distress us. I long to see you before you go; if it was but a moment, it would be a very great consolation to me. . . . I have ten thousand things to say to you, but my heart is too full to add only that I beg you will accept the gratefull acknowledgments of my heart for every thing that you have done for me."[11]

But even Jane's adoration and devotion could not persuade Tom Winthrop to change his mind. He was just twenty-one, had come into his property, and intended to see the world,—war or no war. Sailing from Nantucket, with Amsterdam as his intended destination, he had the exciting experience of being captured by the British; at least, the vessel was captured and taken to England,—and young Mr. Winthrop with it. As he was an American citizen, it is not easy to understand why he was not interned there for the remainder of the war. Apparently his being a Winthrop led to his enjoying very special treatment. Through the courtesy of Captain Duckworth, he was allowed to visit London and some of the interior counties; later he went over to the Continent, where he traveled in Holland, Belgium, and France

before returning to America.[12] On some, perhaps all, of these peregrinations he seems to have been accompanied by a young Mr. Russell, the son of a prominent Boston merchant. Presumably this was his Harvard classmate Thomas Walley Russell. An Englishman who met them on the Continent remarked (in the third person) a few years later, "He takes pride in mentioning these amiable young men, as they cannot fail of becoming valuable members of a rising country which attracts the attention of the world."[13] Sailing from L'Orient, France, in the winter of 1782, Winthrop came back to his native land in the privateer *St. James*, commanded by Captain Thomas Truxtun; she made the crossing in less than thirty days and brought into Philadelphia the most valuable cargo entered there during the American Revolution.[14]

Before the end of 1782 Winthrop had returned to Massachusetts, where —in Salem, at least—there seems to have been a good deal of talk about a courtship he had been conducting.[15] Whoever the young lady may have been, the time for Thomas Winthrop to marry had not yet arrived. Instead he turned his thoughts to business and became a partner in the new mercantile house of Winthrop, Tod and Winthrop. The senior member of the firm was his older brother Joseph, and its headquarters were in Charleston, South Carolina; thither Thomas went in the spring of 1783, and he appears to have stayed there about two years.[16] But in the summer of 1785, he was back in Massachusetts, and on a September day, William Pynchon of Salem recorded in his diary, "Mr. Winthrop, Misses Temple and Mr. Waldo came to town."

The "Misses Temple" was probably correct; but as far as Mr. Winthrop was concerned, there was only one. She was Elizabeth Bowdoin Temple, and if to all eyes she was not the fairest of the fair, she was nevertheless undeniably attractive. Three or four years earlier she had made a special impression upon the Marquis de Chastellux, one of the French officers serving under Rochambeau. She was then just a young girl, but, as the Frenchman observed, she was "formed to attract attention." His general description of her is interesting: "This was neither a handsome child nor a pretty woman, but rather an angel in disguise of a young girl." But beauty was not her only claim to distinction; as the daughter of Boston-born John Temple, Esq.,—recently appointed Consul General of Great Britain in the United States, and soon to become Sir John Temple, Bart.,—she was related to the Grenvilles, one of the most substantial families in the British aristocracy. On her

mother's side she was a granddaughter of James Bowdoin, governor of the Commonwealth of Massachusetts, president of the American Academy of Arts and Sciences, and one of the richest merchants in New England. Having made her home with Mr. and Mrs. Bowdoin since early in her childhood, she was to them more like a daughter than a granddaughter. For marriage with a Winthrop it was the perfect heritage. So it came to pass that toward the end of November, in 1785, Governor Bowdoin had occasion to write the following lines to "John Temple, Esq. at New York":[17]

> It is probable you have heard—and it is the design of this letter to inform you—that Mr. Winthrop has for some time paid his addresses to your daughter Betsy. When he asked our consent, he was given to understand that we had nothing to object to the connection, but as the disposal of her rested with her father and mother he must apply to them for their consent. Accordingly, as you have been expected for several months, he has been earnestly wishing your arrival, that he might have an opportunity for that purpose. With this view he intends to proceed for New York immediately and it is with pleasure I take the present occasion of introducing him to you and of expressing my opinion concerning him, which is, that he is a gentleman of good character, good family and good circumstances: and I believe that your daughter and her friends will be happy in the connection.

In July, 1786, Thomas Lindall Winthrop and Elizabeth Bowdoin Temple were married in Boston by the Reverend Peter Thacher of the Brattle Street Church.[18] She was sixteen, and he was twenty-six. Mr. Winthrop was now established as a Bostonian, and he and his lady resided in a large house on the corner of Sudbury Street and Alden Court.[19] With marked interest he watched the progress of the Federal Constitution and its ratification by Massachusetts. His wife's grandfather, Mr. Bowdoin, was a member of the Ratifying Convention and was the recognized leader of the Boston delegates in favor of adoption. Her uncle, James Bowdoin, Jr., of Dorchester, was also a member. After the new government went into operation in the spring of 1789, Winthrop spent about a year and a half in Charleston, South Carolina, first pursuing and later winding up his interest in the firm of Winthrop, Tod and Winthrop.[20] He returned to Boston in the late autumn of 1790, and in the Boston *Directory* of 1798 he is listed as a merchant residing on Beacon Street. About 1803 he moved into the Bowdoin house on Milk Street and remained there until 1811.[21] Then (about 1812) the Winthrops moved to 2 Hamilton Place, which had a pleasant view of the Common. Finally, about 1825, he bought from the heirs of John Phillips an elegant brick mansion on the westerly corner of Beacon and

Walnut Streets, greatly improved it, and made his home there for the remainder of his life.*

By "indefatigable industry, energy, and prudence" Mr. Winthrop attained a high position in mercantile Boston, and then retired from active business; he retained, however, his connection with two banks, the Union and the Provident Institution for Savings in the Town of Boston. Of the former he was a director for about fifteen years, before becoming its president about 1820; according to the Boston *Directory*, he held the latter office as late as 1834. Of the Provident Institution, the first savings bank in New England, he was a trustee at the time of its incorporation in 1817 and remained on the board until 1837.[22]

Without aspiring to hold public office, Mr. Winthrop was drawn into politics soon after the close of the War of 1812. Though born a Federalist, he had turned Democrat about 1812 because "he could not reconcile with loyalty to the Union the course of certain Federalist leaders" at that time.[23] In 1822 he represented Boston in the General Court, in 1823 he was promoted to the State Senate, and in 1826 he became lieutenant-governor of the Commonwealth. Levi Lincoln, of Worcester, a much younger man, was governor. In 1822, just after Winthrop's election to the Legislature, Boston became a city, and the general expectation was that Josiah Quincy would be its first mayor. This spelled disappointment for a group of Federalists who had set their hearts on having that distinction go to their own Harrison Gray Otis, at that time Senator of the United States. At a caucus held early in April, 1822, these Federalists succeeded in getting for Otis the official nomination of their party, but the less aristocratic wing of the party—the "Middling Political Interest"—were thoroughly dissatisfied; they wanted Josiah Quincy, and on the following evening they ran a caucus of their own and nominated him. The election was to take place on April 8, and if either Otis or Quincy received a majority of the total vote cast he would be chosen mayor. Up to this point the Democrats had no candidate, because there was not the slightest possibility of getting one elected. But when they saw that the Federalists were quarrelling among themselves, they seized the opportunity to embarrass them further by naming a candidate who might draw enough votes to make it impossible for either Otis or Quincy to obtain the required majority. On the night before election the Democrats at the North

* The house is shown in Justin Winsor's *Memorial History of Boston*, IV, facing p. 64.

End assembled and nominated Mr. Winthrop, "without the knowledge of that gentleman, and to his great displeasure." The scheme worked. The 361 votes cast for Winthrop prevented anyone from being elected. Judge Quincy immediately withdrew from the contest, and Senator Otis's withdrawal was announced on the same day. About a week later John Phillips was chosen the first mayor of Boston.[24]

In 1832, Mr. Winthrop asked not to be renominated for the office of lieutenant-governor;[25] probably he preferred not to have his name associated in any way with that of Governor Lincoln, who had instituted court-martial proceedings against his son, Lieutenant Colonel Grenville Temple Winthrop. However that may have been, he was now almost seventy-three years old and had earned a period of leisure in which to pursue and enjoy his many intellectual interests. First among these was the Massachusetts Historical Society, into which he had been elected as early as 1800. Of its Executive Committee he had been a member since 1810; in 1835, upon the completion of his twenty-fifth year on that board, he was elected president of the Society, and he was still serving in that capacity at the time of his death in 1841. Oddly enough, he was already president of the American Antiquarian Society, having been elected to that office in October, 1831. He had been a member since 1813, and a vice-president since 1828. From 1835 until 1841 he was president of both societies, a distinction which has been accorded to no other person. Presumably Mr. Winthrop's wealth, liberality, and social position were at least partly responsible for his unparalleled exaltation by both the historians and the antiquarians, but one should not jump to the conclusion that his interest in history was either slender or superficial. On the contrary it was both keen and abiding. As early as 1803 he wrote to his brother Francis: "You promised me some time since some old sermons and pamphlets printed in New England. The older the better. Every piece of paper that can throw light upon the first settlement of this country ought to go into the hands of those who have leisure, ability, and inclination to make them useful."

To Thomas Lindall Winthrop's zeal and persistence we may attribute the recovery of the first two volumes of the manuscript of Governor John Winthrop's Journal or "History of New England." They had been lent to Jeremy Belknap, the founder of the Massachusetts Historical Society, and had not been returned at the time of his death in 1798. Mr. Winthrop traced them, reclaimed them from Dr. Belknap's heirs, and with the consent of his

brother Francis deposited them in the library of the Massachusetts Historical Society, where they were available to James Savage when he prepared the edition of 1825. His donations to the Society were many and varied. Among others was a set of Audubon's *Birds of America*; when this was sold, in 1905, for $2000, the proceeds were set aside as the Thomas Lindall Winthrop Fund. One of his many admiring contemporaries wrote of him: "The meetings of the Historical Society he uniformly attended; and every month was in the habit of inviting the members present at the meetings to a most sumptuous entertainment in his own house."[26] To the American Antiquarian Society he presented "one hundred and twenty-eight volumes, selected by a learned antiquarian, at the cost of three hundred and fifty dollars"; they formed "a rich collection of works illustrative of the topography, heraldry and genealogy of England and Wales."

Other learned societies to which Mr. Winthrop belonged included the American Philosophical Society, the American Academy of Arts and Sciences, the American Statistical Association, and the Historical Societies of Pennsylvania, New York, Maine, Indiana, and Georgia. He was an honorary president of the Universal Statistical Society of France, and a member of the Academy of Industry, Manufactures, and Agriculture of Paris, of the Royal Society of Agriculture of Florence, of the Archaeological Society of Athens, and of the Royal Society of Northern Antiquaries at Copenhagen. And though one is apt to think of him as being a very urban gentleman, he was for a number of years (1828–41) president of the Massachusetts Society for Promoting Agriculture, and belonged to both the Berkshire Society for the Promotion of Agriculture and Industry and the Maine Agricultural Society. At the time of his death, in 1841, he was a member of the Board of Overseers of Harvard College, and had served his *alma mater* continuously in that capacity since 1828. In 1836 Trinity College, of Hartford, Connecticut, conferred on him the honorary degree of Doctor of Laws. As this array of memberships and honors might lead one to wonder whether Mr. Winthrop had any interest in the welfare of the common people, it should be added that he was instrumental in establishing primary schools in Boston and was for three years (1818–21) chairman of the committee appointed to institute and administer that important addition to the educational system of the town.[27]

Mr. Winthrop's religious affiliations were, of course, Episcopalian. From

1815 until 1833 he was a vestryman of Trinity Church in Boston, and in 1830 he gave to the church a large silver ewer adorned with the arms of the Winthrop family.[28]

A half-length portrait of Thomas Lindall Winthrop, painted by Thomas Sully in 1831 and reproduced here, is probably the best likeness; it is now owned by Frederic Winthrop. There is also one by Charles Osgood, and a bust by Hiram Powers. The last two are in the Cabinet of the Massachusetts Historical Society. The portrait by Osgood was subscribed for by various members and by them given to the Society in 1837. At the request of the American Antiquarian Society, Mr. Winthrop had it copied in 1838 and gave the replica to that organization, of which he was then the president. A beautiful portrait of Mrs. Winthrop, painted by Stuart in 1806, was given to the Massachusetts Historical Society about 1926 by her great-granddaughter, Miss Clara Bowdoin Winthrop. Miss Winthrop owns a miniature of Thomas Lindall Winthrop, painted by Edward Greene Malbone in 1800. It shows the subject wearing a gray velvet coat, white stock, and ruff. In 1824 Charles Fraser, the distinguished painter of miniatures, wrote of Mr. and Mrs. Winthrop, "I still think him one of the handsomest men of his age I ever saw; and Mrs. W. looks as young as one of her daughters."[29]

Mr. Winthrop died at his home on Walnut Street, Boston, on February 22, 1841; within a week or two he would have been eighty-one years old. Both houses of the Legislature adjourned in order to attend his funeral; he was buried in the Governor Winthrop tomb in the King's Chapel Burying-ground.[30] His wife had died in 1825, and he had not remarried.

Because of the great advantages he enjoyed, it is not easy to appraise Thomas Lindall Winthrop; it is, however, at least safe to say that he was the flower of the New England civilization of his time. He may not have been a forceful person, but he was invariably a gentleman, a useful citizen, and an ornament to the society in which he moved. To his contemporaries he personified the Boston aristocracy at its best.

Children:

Elizabeth Bowdoin Winthrop, born May 16, 1787, married in 1814 the Reverend Benjamin Tappan, A.B., Harvard, 1805, had issue, and died March 9, 1860.

Sarah Bowdoin Winthrop, born June 3, 1788, married January 26, 1809, George Sullivan, A.B., Harvard, 1801; son of Governor James Sullivan;

they had two sons, both of whom changed their surnames to Bowdoin.[31] She died at Pau, France, in February, 1864.

Thomas Lindall, born July 23, 1789, A.B., Harvard, 1807, died unmarried, January 12, 1812, in Philadelphia. See p. 284.

Augusta Temple, born November 3, 1791, died September 18, 1792.

Augusta Temple, born April 23, 1793, married October 3, 1820, Dr. John Smyth Rogers, A.B., Columbia, 1812, of New York, had issue, and died December 7, 1828, in Hartford, Connecticut.

James Bowdoin, born July 23, 1794, died unmarried March 6, 1833, at Havana, Cuba. See p. 289.

John Temple, born May 14, 1796, A.B., Harvard, 1815, dropped the name of Winthrop, became John Temple James *Bowdoin*, and died unmarried May 5, 1843, at Valparaiso, Chile. See p. 299.

Francis William, born December 1, 1797, died June 23, 1798.

Francis William, born May 31, 1799, graduated from Harvard College in 1817 and died without issue March 7, 1819. He was the first scholar in the Class of 1817 and a member of Phi Beta Kappa. See p. 302.

Jane, born March 15, 1801, died without issue February 22, 1819, in Boston.

Ann, born April 14, 1803, married in 1843 the eminent surgeon, Dr. John Collins Warren, of Boston, A.B., Harvard, 1797, and died without issue December 16, 1850.

George Edward, born June 15, 1805, graduated from Harvard College in 1825, and died without issue August 30, 1875. See p. 306.

Grenville Temple, born March 23, 1807, graduated from Columbia College in 1827, and died September 14, 1852. He married, in 1831, Frances Maria, daughter of the Honorable John Heard, and had issue. See p. 309.

Robert Charles, born May 12, 1809, A.B., Harvard, 1828, orator, Speaker of the House of Representatives, United States Senator, and man of letters, died November 16, 1894, leaving issue. See p. 315.

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4. *New England Historical and Genealogical Register*, VII (1853), 20.

5. Winthrop Manuscripts (Massachusetts Historical Society), 1B. 64, 65.

6. *American Quarterly Register*, XIII. 389.

7. Harvard College Faculty Records (MS.), IV. 104; Winthrop Papers (Boston Public Library) I. 49; a certificate of his admission to Harvard, dated May 20, 1779, and signed by President Langdon, is preserved at the Massachusetts Historical Society.

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9. Colonial Society of Massachusetts *Publications*, XIX. 295.

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16. Massachusetts Historical Society *Collections*, Seventh Series, X. 193.
17. Marquis de Chastellux, *Travels in North America*, II. 287; Massachusetts Historical Society *Collections*, Sixth Series, IX. xv; Winthrop Manuscripts (Massachusetts Historical Society), 25. 35.
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20. Winthrop Manuscripts (Massachusetts Historical Society), 30A. 9.
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23. Robert C. Winthrop, Jr., *A Memoir of Robert C. Winthrop*, 45.
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27. J. M. Wightman, *Annals of the Boston Primary School Committee*, 36, 293.
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31. *Materials for a History of the Family of John Sullivan of Berwick, New England*, 152; Temple Prime, *Some Account of the Bowdoin Family* (third edition, 1900), 11.

BENJAMIN[6] WINTHROP (*John Still*[5], *John*[4], *Wait Still*[3], *John*[2], *John*[1]), the elder son of John Still Winthrop and his second wife, Elizabeth Shirreff, was born in New London, Connecticut, on September 17, 1762. He was his mother's first-born Winthrop, but she had had other children by her first marriage.

Benjamin and his brother Robert grew up under peculiar political circumstances. Their father died before Benjamin was fourteen years old; their mother was, in all probability, a Loyalist, and should have been one. Her first husband had been an officer in the British Army; her brother, Major Shirreff, was in the British Army and was stationed in New York City, which the British captured in 1776. Quite understandably, Mrs. Winthrop leaned toward the Crown and preferred to have her boys become Englishmen instead of Yankees. Major Shirreff shared her views to such an extent that he offered to educate Benjamin and Robert in England and at his own expense if they could be got out of New London and into New York.[1] As he had recently negotiated the passage of Silas Deane's son into New York and thence to England and France, he had reason to believe that a corresponding arrangement could be made for his nephews, the Winthrop boys. In the course of time Governor Trumbull and the Council of Safety gave their consent, and toward the end of March, 1778, Benjamin and Robert were on their way to Manhattan Island. Their half brother John tells of their departure in a letter to his brother Thomas Lindall Winthrop: "We hired Spink's Sloop to carry them. Mr. Shaw gave Orders to Captain Wm. Harris as Captain of the Flag [of Truce] and Spink and Robert Cinnamon to go in the Vessel. Robert went to take care of them when sick, etc. They sailed from here about 5 o'Clock last Monday afternoon with a fair Wind and all are of opinion they got to the Station-Ship the next night. We expect the Vessel will return tomorrow or next Day. You see we made all possible Dispatch (as soon as they had got leave) to send them along (which doubtless you'll say was right for many reasons)."[2]

If the original plan was to send the boys to London together, something must have changed this after they reached New York. The younger one, Robert, was shipped off in the *Greyhound*, which "carried the news from Penobscot to England." Presumably this was in the summer of 1779, when the British seized and retained possession of Castine, Maine.[3] But for the time being Benjamin remained in New York. There are indications that he went to England before March, 1781; but, as his mother knew to her sorrow, he was a poor correspondent and therefore we sometimes have to guess as to his whereabouts. We know, however, that he was already there when his half brother, Thomas Lindall Winthrop, reached England in 1781.[4] Apparently he stayed long enough to decide that he preferred to be an American,

for he returned to his native land before January 19, 1785. On that date he married, in Trinity Church, Judith Stuyvesant, the eldest daughter of Petrus Stuyvesant, of New York. She was a direct descendant of Governor Peter Stuyvesant, who, in the summer of 1664, finally took the advice of Governor John Winthrop of Connecticut and surrendered New Amsterdam to Britain. The Winthrops appear to have made their home about two miles out of town, in Bowery Village, which was a portion of the ancestral domain of the Stuyvesant family.[5]

Inevitably Benjamin Winthrop became a New York merchant, at first with an office at 2 Great Dock Street, then at 27 Pearl Street, and later in Wall Street. In 1797 there were at least three Winthrops in Wall Street: Francis Bayard Winthrop at No. 29, his brother William at No. 52, and their half brother Benjamin at No 43. Benjamin's religious affiliations were with St. Mark's Church in the Bowery. Seven of his eight children were baptized in that church.[6] Mr. Winthrop died on January 9, 1844, in his eighty-second year.

Children:

Peter William, born September 25, 1787, died February 23, 1814.

Elizabeth Sheriff, born October 4, 1789, married the Reverend John White Chanler on December 12, 1819, and died December 12, 1829.

Egerton Leigh, born July 5, 1792, A.B., Columbia, 1812, and M.D., College of Physicians and Surgeons, 1817, died in November, 1834. See p. 345.

Benjamin Robert, born September 24, 1794, died September 10, 1800.

Gerard Stuyvesant, born August 14, 1796, died in November, 1829.

John Hay, born November 29, 1798, died in April, 1840.

Margaret Cornelia, born July 22, 1801, married the Honorable George Folsom of Maine and New York City on November 20, 1839, had issue, and died March 18, 1863.[7]

Benjamin Robert, born June 18, 1804, married Eliza Ann Coles, daughter of William Neilson, of New York, October 1, 1829, had issue, and died July 26, 1879. See p. 346.

References

1. Massachusetts Historical Society *Collections*, Seventh Series, II. 219–220.

2. *Public Records of the State of Connecticut*, I. 572; Winthrop Manuscripts (Massachusetts Historical Society), 30A. 2.

3. Winthrop Manuscripts (Massachusetts Historical Society), 30A. 4.

4. *Ibid.*, 30A. 7.

5. Winthrop Manuscripts (Massachusetts Historical Society), 30A. 19; Benjamin Robert Winthrop, *Old New York* (reprinted from D. T. Valentine, *Manual of the Corporation of the City of New York*, 1862, 686–694).
6. *New York Genealogical and Biographical Record*, LXXI (1940), 335–336.
7. *New England Historical and Genealogical Register*, XXIII (1869), 481–482.

ROBERT[6] WINTHROP (*John Still*[5], *John*[4], *Wait Still*[3], *John*[2], *John*[1]), the younger son of John Still Winthrop and his second wife, Elizabeth Shirreff, was born in New London, Connecticut, on December 7, 1764. By the time he was twelve years old his father had died, and consequently the question of his formal education and choice of career rested largely with his mother. The problem was complicated by the fact that the American Revolution had begun and she was a Loyalist. Naturally her thoughts turned to her brother, Major William Shirreff, an officer in the British Army, and beyond him to England. Major Shirreff was stationed in New York, which the British had captured in 1776 and continued to hold until the end of the war.

In regard to young Robert Winthrop and his elder brother Benjamin, the Major suggested that if they could be sent to him on Manhattan Island, he would send them to England and pay for their education. In March, 1778, Mrs. Winthrop obtained permission from Governor Trumbull to get the boys out of Connecticut, and Major Shirreff succeeded in getting them into British-occupied New York.[1] About a year later—in the summer of 1779—Robert was shipped off to London on the *Greyhound*;[2] he was then between fourteen and fifteen years old, and destined for a career in His Majesty's Navy. He must have been an attractive boy, for two years later his Uncle Charles Shirreff in England wrote of him: "Bob has been detain'd here [Old Alresford] from his Duty 5 days in hopes of meeting you [Thomas Lindall Winthrop] and leaves tomorrow for his ship, with a heavy heart at the disappointment. He is really a fine fellow and a credit to us all."[3]

The promise Robert Winthrop gave of distinguishing himself was amply fulfilled; as a midshipman on H.M.S. *Formidable*, Admiral Rodney's flagship, he took part in the famous battle off Dominica on April 12, 1782,—"the greatest naval combat of the generation," in which the British defeated the French fleet commanded by De Grasse. After peace came he returned to America and for a few years was associated in business with his half-

brother, William, in New London. But in 1790 he went back to England; re-entering the British Navy, he rose steadily, becoming a rear admiral in 1809 and a vice admiral of the blue in 1830.[4] An obituary of him in the *Gentleman's Magazine* gives the following outline of this part of his career:[5]

He was a Lieutenant in 1790; and, at the conquest of Martinique in 1794, he commanded a battalion of seamen, attached to Prince Edward's brigade. In the spring of 1796 he commanded the Albicore sloop at the capture of St. Lucia; and about the same time, he captured, near Barbadoes, l'Athenienne, French corvette, of 14 guns. He was afterwards appointed to the Undaunted frigate, and in that ship had the misfortune to be wrecked, in the Morant Keys, during a heavy gale of wind, Aug. 27, 1796. His post commission bore date Dec. 16 following.

Capt. Winthrop's next appointment was to the Circe, of 28 guns, stationed in the North Sea; and in June 1798, he served in the expedition sent against Ostend. Major-Gen. Coote, who commanded the army employed on that occasion, has recorded in his despatches "the indefatigable exertions and good conduct" of Capt. Winthrop, who superintended the landing of the troops.

In the summer of 1799, Capt. Winthrop was entrusted with the command of a small squadron, employed on the coast of Holland, the boats of which, in the night of the 27th June, very gallantly cut out twelve sail of merchantmen from the Wadde, without having a man hurt, notwithstanding they were much annoyed by the fire from the enemy's batteries and gun-boats. On the 10th July, the boats also cut out three more valuable vessels, and burnt another laden with stores.

In the following month the Circe assisted at the capture of the Helder, on which occasion all the Dutch ships lying in the Nieuve Diep, together with the naval magazine at the Nieuve Werk, containing a large quantity of stores, were taken possession of by Capt. Winthrop. This event led to the surrender of the enemy's fleet in the Texel. In October of the same year, Capt. Winthrop's boats, under his own immediate direction, carried off from the port of Delfzel a sloop of war and a schooner, the Lynx of 12 guns, and the Perseus of 8 guns.

In the autumn of 1800, in the expedition against Ferrol, Capt. Winthrop commanded the Star frigate, but which was unfortunately stranded in Vigo Bay on the 6th Sept., and was obliged to be destroyed by fire, after the stores had been removed.

On the renewal of war, after the peace of Amiens, Capt. Winthrop obtained the command of the Ardent, a 64-gun ship, stationed on the coast of Spain, where he drove on shore la Bayonnaise, French frigate, of 32 guns and 200 men, from the Havannah bound Ferrol. The crew, to prevent her being taken possession of, set her on fire, by which she was totally destroyed. The Ardent was subsequently employed off Boulogne, under the orders of Lord Keith. From that ship he was removed into the Sybille frigate, about July 1805; and on the 3d May, 1807, he captured l'Oiseau, French letter of marque. In the ensuing summer, he was appointed to the command of the Dover district of Sea Fencibles.

Among the Winthrop Manuscripts of the Massachusetts Historical Society there is at least one letter from Robert written after the turn of the century and indicative of his continuing interest in the American Winthrops

and their family affairs. He wrote without restraint,—buoyantly, heartily, and affectionately.

We catch a glimpse of him and his wife in London in the summer of 1805, when his niece Sarah Bowdoin Winthrop, of Boston, made their acquaintance there. She wrote to her father, Thomas Lindall Winthrop:

> I have the pleasure of informing you that I have been introduced to your brother, Capt. Winthrop. It is only ten days ago that he heard of our being in London, since when he has called on us twice and Mrs. W. once. Capt. W—— has had a 50-gun ship built for him and is perfectly ready with the exception of wanting a few men to put to sea. He told me three or four days ago that he did not expect to sail in less than a fortnight or three weeks. Mrs. Winthrop seems an uncommonly nice, fine woman; from her appearance I should think her to be about twenty-eight,—of rather large stature and a most interesting, lovely face. They are both in very good health,—she a little out of spirits at the idea of his leaving her so soon; this will be their first separation since their marriage. He made a great many enquiries after the family and desired, when I wrote, to be most affectionately remembered to you, my mother, etc.[6]

Robert Winthrop married on December 23, 1804, Sarah Farbrace of Dover, England. She died on May 27, 1825; he died at Dover on May 10, 1832, of paralysis.

Children:

Robert Shirreff Trevanion, born September 24, 1805, died February 18, 1806.

Elizabeth Jane, born March 1, 1808, died November 8, 1880.

Caroline Erskine, Mary } twins, born September 8, 1810; Mary died in 1810.

Anne Farbrace, born May 20, 1812, married Edmund G. Halliwell, and died without issue in 1895.

Augusta Shipley, born August 21, 1814, died January 15, 1815.

Hay Erskine Shipley, born in Dover, England, December 18, 1815, married, February 16, 1847, Anne Hives, daughter of John Hives, of Gledhow, near Leeds, Yorkshire. He became a captain in the British Navy and died at Bath, July 15, 1874, leaving issue.

Maria Rodney, born October 26, 1818, married, February 24, 1857, Captain Evans Morgan, of the Royal Artillery.

George Teale Sebor, born in Dover, England, February 18, 1822, married, January 11, 1853, Charlotte, daughter of Lieutenant General Sir William Wood, K.C.B. He became a vice admiral in the British Navy and died about 1900, leaving issue.

References

1. Massachusetts Historical Society *Collections*, Seventh Series, II. 219–220; *Public Records of the State of Connecticut*, I. 572.
2. Winthrop Manuscripts (Massachusetts Historical Society), 30A. 4.
3. *Ibid.*, 30A. 7.
4. Francis Manwaring Caulkins, *History of New London*, 575.
5. *Gentleman's Magazine*, CII (1832), Part I. 641.
6. Winthrop Manuscripts (Massachusetts Historical Society), 30A. 17.

JOHN[6] WINTHROP (*John*[5], *Adam*[4], *Adam*[3], *Adam*[2], *John*[1]), of Cambridge and Boston, was born in Cambridge, Massachusetts, on September 17, 1747, and was baptized there three days later.[1] His father was an eminent professor in Harvard College. His mother, a Townsend of Boston, died when John was about six years old, and the task of bringing up him and his three younger brothers soon devolved on his stepmother, Hannah (Fayerweather) Winthrop. Admitted to Harvard in the summer of 1761, at the age of thirteen years and ten months, he was placed fourth in the Class of 1765 when the President and Tutors performed that delicate task in the following February. The three names above his—Sparhawk of Kittery, Hooper of Marblehead, and Oliver of Middleboro—suggest that one's rating was based considerably on the wealth or political position of one's family.

John became one of the pupils of Mr. Hancock, the senior Tutor, and kept out of trouble until the beginning of his third year of undergraduate life; but on the evening of September 12, 1763, he and a half-dozen other students made such "indecent, tumultuous noises in the College" that the Faculty found it necessary to fine each of them one shilling sixpence and have them "publicly admonish'd in the Chapel."[2] This riot in the Yard included much graver offenses which were punished proportionately, but young Winthrop was not among those who distinguished themselves in that way. The next time his name appears in the Faculty records, he seems to have been more sinned against than sinning.[3] The incident occurred toward the end of his Senior year and is described as follows:

At a meeting of the President and Tutors, May 4, 1765. Upon Watson's being Charg'd with breaking open Winthrop senior his Study Door, he own'd that the

Door was broke open, and that he took the Dog out of the Study. Whereupon

Voted: 1. Watson adjudg'd to be guilty of Breaking open Winthrop's Study Door.
2. That he was guilty of Lying when under Examination concerning that Affair, April 30.
3. That he was at that Time guilty also of great Contempt of the Government of the College. Therefore voted
4. That Watson repair all Damages done to Winthrop's Study Door, sustain a pecuniary Mulct of five shillings L.M. and make a public Confession of his Crimes in the Chapel.

This executed May 6, immediately after morning Prayer.

John received his Bachelor's degree in 1765 and at Commencement in June, 1768, he presented himself as a candidate for the degree of Master of Arts. To qualify for this, one had to be prepared to present at the Commencement exercises, one side of an assigned question, and a chosen few had to stand up and actually orate. One of the latter was John Winthrop, who argued that everything necessary for salvation is clearly revealed in the holy scriptures (*An omnia ad salutem necessaria, in sacris scripturis perspicue revelantur*).

For his career Winthrop chose that of a merchant, and after learning the ropes in Gloucester—under the eyes, and perhaps in the employ, of his kinsmen Epes and Daniel Sargent—he established himself in business in the metropolis. In 1771 he made at least two voyages to the Carolinas, but not as master of the ship.[4] According to an advertisement in the *Boston Gazette* of April 4, 1774, his store was on "Treat's Wharf, near the Market," and his wares included "Flour, Bottles, Iron, etc."

At a Boston town meeting in March, 1773, Winthrop was elected one of twelve Clerks of the Market, and at a special town meeting held shortly before the Boston Tea Party he was appointed one of the twenty-five men whose duty it should be to watch Captain Hall's vessel and make sure that none of its cargo of tea was landed.[5] In June, 1774, the port of Boston was closed by the British government, and toward the end of that year the town chose him to be one of a group of sixty or more who were to enforce the Continental agreement not to import any British goods until American grievances were redressed. In a contemporary Loyalist announcement that listed and characterized these self-denying citizens Winthrop was described as "Alias Joyce, Jr., Chairman of the Committee for tarring and feathering."[6]

In an undated letter, which may have been written in 1774, his mother informed her friend Mercy Warren, "Johnny has returned from his journey with a slow fever." Unfortunately she does not tell us where he had been, or why he went there. Possibly the "journey" was a voyage to the West Indies, for there are indications that he was in those islands about this time. However that may have been, he seems to have made a good recovery, for when privateering came into fashion Winthrop became part owner of the schooner *Warren*. His partners in this venture were Joseph Foster and two of his own kinsmen, Winthrop Sargent and Epes Sargent. The schooner was equipped with four guns and fifty men, and she seems to have been a profitable investment. About the middle of September, 1776, she sent two vessels "into Cape Ann" for condemnation,—"a Ship of 400 Tons Burthen called the *Picary*" and "a Brig . . . from the Coast of Guinea . . . bound for London with some Elephants Teeth and Gold Dust."[7] The last-mentioned commodity is always useful, and John probably found this windfall most opportune, for three months later (December 18, 1776) he and Sarah ("Sally") Phillips, of Boston, were married by the Reverend Simeon Howard, of the West Church. She was the nineteen-year-old daughter of Isaac Phillips, a sea captain. Mr. Winthrop affiliated himself with this church, and was at one time or another a member of its Standing Committee.[8]

About the time of his marriage John Winthrop was drafted by the Town of Boston to serve with the militia sent "as a reinforcement for the Continental Army at or near New York." But this caused him little concern; all he had to do was to pay a fine in lieu of actual service, and that disposed of that. More to his liking, presumably, was being drawn to serve on the jury of a Maritime Court in 1778, 1782, and 1783. His experience as a merchant must have made him especially valuable in this capacity. In March, 1777, the town elected him a member of its Committee of Correspondence, and two months later placed him on two other committees; one of these was to ask the Council to "apprehend and confine" certain individuals who were considered "inimical to the United States," the other to draft instructions for Boston's representatives in the General Court.[9]

Like his Uncle Samuel before him, this Winthrop was a quiet citizen,—one who neither put himself forward nor yet evaded a civic duty when one lay in his path. Year after year he accepted his election as fire ward for his part of the town; three times—in 1787, 1789, and 1794—he was elected a

Representative in the General Court and served accordingly. When re-elected in 1790, he begged to be excused and gave his reasons. It is fairly clear that he was not politically ambitious. At a town meeting held in Faneuil Hall in December, 1787, he was chosen one of twelve persons to represent Boston in the Convention to consider ratifying the proposed Federal Constitution.[10] Among his associates in this important assignment were John Hancock, James Bowdoin, Samuel Adams, William Phillips, and Christopher Gore. The sessions of the Convention began on January 9, 1788, and about four weeks later a majority of its members voted in favor of the Federal Constitution. But almost till the end it was nip and tuck between the Federalists and the Antifederalists: the final vote showed 187 yeas and 168 nays. Among the yeas was John Winthrop, Esq.; in fact, the whole Boston delegation voted for ratification.[11] He does not appear to have been vociferous in the debates, or to have been placed on any important committee; he was not the type of man who is eager for either of those forms of activity.*

As a merchant Mr. Winthrop seems to have been mildly successful. He was also interested in Boston real estate, of which he bought and sold a good deal between 1780 and 1795. His home was on the corner of Cambridge Street and Alden Lane, a two-storied brick and wood dwelling, which, with its grounds and barn, was valued at $3500 in 1798. He also had a ropewalk in Wiltshire Street and an office or store at No. 24 Long Wharf. When the census of 1790 was taken, the Winthrop household comprised two free white males of sixteen years and up, two free white males under sixteen, and five free white females.[12] One of the "free white males under sixteen" was Mr. Winthrop's younger son Adam. A letter about him and his financial needs, written by his father a few years later—when Adam was a young collegian—makes one wonder whether John Winthrop, merchant, was apt to be a little slow in meeting his financial obligations. The letter is addressed to the boy's Uncle William, who lived in Cambridge and near the College Yard:[13]

Feby 12/98

Brother

ADAM writes me that if his two oldest quarter bills are not paid this Day, he shall be fined 25 cents for every day to come, beginning today—and as I cannot go to Cambridge, wish you would have them discharged forthwith; I should be glad if you would also let Adam have one dollar, the whole of which will repay

* According to one of the delegates, Hancock, Samuel Adams, and Winthrop were "frightened" into voting for ratification,—the Boston mechanics being responsible for the frightening. Francis Baylies, *Eulogy on the Hon. Benjamin Russell*, 64.

when you are to Town. The Steward's receipts you will please to forward me.

Yrs.

J. WINTHROP

In the lower left-hand corner the recipient recorded:

Paid Adam	$1.0
Pd the Steward	9.33
	$10.33

In politics Winthrop is said to have been a Jeffersonian, like his brothers James and William;[14] but the present writer has not found any contemporary evidence that either confirms or refutes this statement. John Winthrop died in Boston on February 12, 1800. An obituary notice in the *Independent Chronicle* of February 10–13 states merely: "In this town, yesterday morning, after a few days illness, John Winthrop, Esq., in the fifty-third year of his age, an eminent merchant of this town. In the various relations of life he was much respected. His funeral is to be to-morrow afternoon, at half past three o'clock, from his home in Cambridge-Street, when his friends and acquaintance are desired to attend." His wife died in the same year.

Children:

JOHN, born February 21, 1778, graduated from Harvard College in 1796, married, had issue, and migrated to Baton Rouge, Louisiana, where he died, July 21, 1819. See p. 352.

Sarah, born October 17, 1779, married James Andrews, a Boston merchant, had issue, and died November 12, 1862. Her third son, William, assumed the name of Winthrop; he married, in 1848, Emma, daughter of Sir William Curtis, Bart., and was for many years the American consul at Malta. He died without leaving issue, July 3, 1869.

ADAM, born May 19, 1781, graduated from Harvard College in 1800, became Clerk of the United States District Court in Louisiana, and died unmarried in or near New Orleans, November 25, 1846. See p. 326. 356

Harriet, born April 15, 1783, died unmarried, February 9, 1872 (?).

CHARLES, born March 13, 1791, attended Phillips Academy, Andover, and Harvard College, became a lawyer of Boston, and died unmarried at Keene, New Hampshire, May 4, 1835. See p. 359.

References

1. *Vital Records of Cambridge*, I. 777; Harvard College Faculty Records (MS.), II. 157; *Records of the Church of Christ at Cambridge*, 158.

2. Harvard College Faculty Records (MS.), II. 157, 194; in the Harvard University Archives.

3. *Ibid.*, II. 214.

4. Winthrop Papers (Boston Public Library), I. 12, 13; Professor John Winthrop's Diary (Harvard University Archives), March 9 and December 13, 1771; Caleb Davis Papers (Massachusetts Historical Society), *passim.*
5. Robert Francis Seybolt, *The Town Officials of Colonial Boston*, 349; Massachusetts Historical Society *Proceedings*, XX (1882–83), 11.
6. *Boston Town Records, 1770 through 1777*, 206; Massachusetts Historical Society *Proceedings*, Second Series, XII. 141.
7. Winthrop-Warren letters,—at the Massachusetts Historical Society; Massachusetts Historical Society *Collections*, LXXVII. 319.
8. *Boston Marriages, 1752–1809*, 111; *New England Historical and Genealogical Register*, LXXXV (1931), 126; Charles Lowell, *A Discourse Delivered in the West Church in Boston*, 36.
9. *Selectmen's Minutes from 1776 through 1786*, 22, 70, 174, 208; *Boston Town Records, 1770 through 1777*, 270, 281, 283.
10. *Boston Town Records, 1784 to 1796*, 148, 196, 229, 231, 358, 159.
11. Jonathan Elliott, *The Debates in the Several State Conventions*, II. 178.
12. Record Commissioners of the City of Boston, *Twenty-second Report*, 282, 477; Annie Haven Thwing, *The Crooked and Narrow Streets of the Town of Boston*, map facing 196; *Boston Directory* (1798).
13. This letter is at the Massachusetts Historical Society, but not among the Winthrop Manuscripts.
14. Massachusetts Historical Society *Proceedings*, I. 383.

ADAM[6] WINTHROP (*John*[5], *Adam*[4], *Adam*[3], *Adam*[2], *John*[1]) was the second son of Professor John Winthrop of Harvard College. Born in Cambridge, Massachusetts, on November 27, 1748,* he attended the Boston Latin School, and was admitted to Harvard in the summer of 1763 at the age of fourteen years and seven months. When "placed" by the Faculty, at the end of his Freshman year, he was No. 2 on the official list of the members of the Class of 1767; the top rung of the ladder was assigned quite properly to young Thomas Bernard, son of the governor of the Province.[1]

The academic year had hardly more than begun when Adam was involved in a riot which the students indulged in in the College Yard. Disturbances of this kind usually occur when the first wave of warm spring weather reaches Cambridge, but this one broke out toward the end of the summer—

* "A boy born at 9[h] 40′ morning, and baptized afternoon—*Adam* by Mr. Appleton." Professor John Winthrop's Diary, November 27, 1748; in the Harvard University Archives.

on the evening of September 12, 1763. It was a very noisy affair, and the authorities liked it not. On the following day the Faculty met and disciplined a large number of undergraduates, including Adam's older brother John; but when it came to Adam, it showed leniency. The minutes of the meeting tell us "Winthrop junior and Dunbar, who also were among the Delinquents, were excus'd with a private Admonition as they were Freshmen and insensible of the heinousness of the crime." Apparently admonition had the desired effect in Winthrop's case, for he kept out of trouble during the remainder of his academic career and received the degree of Bachelor of Arts at Commencement in 1767. Three years later he was a candidate for the Master's degree and was prepared to argue the affirmative side of the question whether the Christian religion has received more harm from its friends than from its enemies (*An Religio christiana plus Detrimenti ceperit ab Amicis, quam Inimicis*). It was a good topic for debate, and one is disappointed to find that he was not called upon to present his views at the Commencement exercises. Probably he was away from Cambridge, for he is mentioned in a vote of the President and Fellows allowing certain absentees to receive their degrees without being present in person.

Whatever he may have lacked, Adam Winthrop had plenty of spirit. According to an entry in an interleaved Harvard *Triennial Catalogue*: "while a clerk in Col. Hooper's store in Marblehead, he planned to go to sea and did go from Rhode Island, having left behind him strong evidence of being drowned where he had resided. He was recognized in the West Indies and came back to Virginia. There he secreted himself; but managed to reach Boston before his pursuer and was discovered by his uncle's negro. He was then permitted to go to sea again."[2]

This interesting story is at least founded on fact; but the details are not entirely accurate. Adam's employer at Marblehead was not "King" Hooper but Colonel Jeremiah Lee, who took him on with some hesitation early in 1768. In the following August Mr. Lee noticed that the boy "neglected himself" and asked him "if anything had happened to him." Adam replied, "Nothing." But about three weeks later he took French leave on a Saturday evening about nine o'clock. He left most of his clothes behind him, but he had borrowed a "Sea Jacoat" of the mate of one of Colonel Lee's ships. All this his employer wrote to the boy's father, Professor Winthrop, and added, "I am not able to discover the reason for his elopement, tho' I have made the

strictest search." He assumed that he left Marblehead by water; only two ships had sailed since he disappeared,—one for Newbury, the other for "Pernobscot." A little later it was rumored that under the assumed name of George Harvey he had shipped before the mast and had gone to the coast of Guinea.[3]

Apparently Adam kept out of the sight of his family for several months, for about the middle of February, 1769, his maternal uncle, William Blair Townsend, asked the Professor to send him the name of the master of the ship Adam sailed on from Newport and the month in which they sailed. A Boston vessel was about to depart for "the place they are gone to," and if the captain had more information he could make inquiry there to better advantage. The rest of the story may well be as recounted above. One thing is certain: before the year 1769 had run its course, Adam had come back,—but was determined to make another voyage.[4] In the next few years he made a good many. In June, 1772, we find him "bound to London" and carrying a letter from his distinguished father to "the Honorable John Temple, Esq." Mr. Temple, then in London, was a Bostonian with excellent connections in England, both in his own right and as the son-in-law of James Bowdoin, merchant and capitalist of Boston, Massachusetts.[5] In May, 1773, Adam was back in Boston and Cambridge, but "very ill." He had just arrived from the West Indies, where his schooner had got on the rocks near St. Martin. In the following winter he was off for London again, this time as master of John Hancock's brig *Lydia*.[6] It proved to be the last voyage he was ever to make. The sad news reached New England in April, 1774, and was published in the *Boston Gazette* of April 24 and the *Massachusetts Gazette* of April 28:

By Capt. Folger we learn that Capt. Adam Winthrop, Son of the Hon. John Winthrop, Esq., of Cambridge, was unfortunately knock'd overboard by the Boom of his Vessel, on his Passage from hence to London, and was drowned.

Te, WINTHROP, nobis jam jam spectare licebat,
Velis inadversis, decorantem Littora nostra;
Sed Fatum infaelix! nunc Mortis frigida Manus
Florentem tetigit madido tradiditque Sepulchro.
Non mihi, si centum Linguae sint,
Ferrea Vox, Oraque centum, omnes Virtutes dicere possim.

The author of these elegiac verses is not known. Possibly they were written by his brother John's mother-in-law, Priscilla Phillips, for among the Win-

throp Manuscripts there is a very free translation of them signed by "P. Phillips" but dated 1776:[7]

Winthrop! Long since we've wish'd the happy hour
When, safety wafted to thy native shoar,
Thou might'st with joy our drooping hearts expand,
And Thy gay vessel decorate our strand.

But now, alas, so runs the stern decree,
Fate has for ever sever'd us from thee;
For Death's cold hand has nipp'd thee in thy bloom
And plung'd thee headlong to a watery tomb.

For mortal strength too great, the loss we feel
Demands an hundred tongues, a voice of steel,
An hundred mouths; yet, had these been my share,
All, all, had fail'd thy virtues to declare!

The tragedy occurred on February 4, 1774; the victim was only twenty-five years old. Adam Winthrop was unmarried and left no descendants. Among his personal effects were a flute and several books of music.[8]

References

1. *Vital Records of Cambridge*, I. 777; *Records of the Church of Christ at Cambridge*, 159; Henry F. Jenks, *Catalogue of the Boston Public Latin School*, 77; Harvard College Faculty Records (MS.), II. 204, in the Harvard University Archives.
2. This *Triennial Catalogue* is preserved in the Harvard University Archives.
3. Winthrop Papers (Boston Public Library), I. 14, 15; III. 64; the original letter from Jeremiah Lee to Professor Winthrop is preserved in the "Chamberlain Collection of Autographs" at the Boston Public Library.
4. Winthrop Papers (Boston Public Library), I. 17, 20.
5. Winthrop Manuscripts (Massachusetts Historical Society), 22. 113; 20. 85; Winthrop Papers (Boston Public Library), III. 70.
6. Abram English Brown, *John Hancock, His Book*, 182.
7. Winthrop Manuscripts (Massachusetts Historical Society), 1B. 74.
8. Winthrop Papers (Boston Public Library), III. 72.

JAMES[6] WINTHROP (*John*[5], *Adam*[4], *Adam*[3], *Adam*[2], *John*[1]), one of the younger sons of Professor John Winthrop of Harvard College, was born in Cambridge, Massachusetts, on March 28, 1752, and was baptized there on the following day.[1] About nine years later his father jotted down in

his almanac: "20 December 1760, at 10 M, Jemmy 3 feet 10⅔ inches."

He must have been a precocious child, for when he was admitted to Harvard in the summer of 1765 he was only thirteen years and four months old. This made him the youngest member of the Class of 1769, though it was about nip and tuck between him and Peter Thacher, of Boston. When the President and Tutors "placed" the class in the following March, James was outranked by only one fellow Freshman,—Peter Oliver, of Boston, whose father was Secretary of the Province of Massachusetts-Bay. James's Tutor was Mr. Danforth, and the boy behaved pretty well most of the time. At the beginning of his Sophomore year he did get involved in the student rebellion against the bad butter that was served by the College; but he and most of his associates were forgiven when they signed a declaration of "hearty Sorrow for every Thing each of us severally have done." And in the following spring he was fined *1s. 6d.* for going out of town without leave, or some minor misdemeanor of that kind. But in the turbulent undergraduate era in which he lived his record is relatively immaculate. In the autumn of his Junior year the College authorities allowed him to accompany his father to Portsmouth, New Hampshire, where his Aunt Jaffrey lived in the grand manner. Toward the end of his Senior year he was one of the students who received deturs from the College; these were books bought with income from the ancient Hopkins Fund. Winthrop must have been a good student for his name heads the list of beneficiaries in that year; the book assigned to him by the Faculty was "Fitz-Osborne's Letters." President Holyoke had stipulated that "proper books" be distributed, and this one clearly came within that category. *The Letters of Sir Thomas Fitzosborne, on Several Subjects* were really written by William Melmoth (1710–1799), an English classicist with a pleasing literary style. The book is a series of short essays written in the form of letters to various individuals; it enjoyed great popularity in Winthrop's day, a sixth edition having appeared in 1768.[2]

At the Commencement exercises in 1769, James Winthrop distinguished himself by reciting "A Soliloquy in French"; at any rate, that was the Commencement part assigned to him, and we assume he went through with it.[3] Then came the question of a career. Everyone conceded that young Winthrop came of a good family and that he was a brilliant student, but no one seems to have been eager to be his employer. Or it may be that James was too full of intellectual interests of his own to make him willing to accept a

James Winthrop

good opening when one offered itself. This state of affairs troubled his parents, as well it might. Referring to it a year after this time, his mother wrote Madam Hancock, "We think the difficulty we met with in getting our other son [i.e., James] a place was so discouraging to him as to be a means of all his misfortunes, as he looks upon himself as a person that was not to be employd in life."[4] Just what she meant is not clear, but one infers that when James could not be placed in a job, he was inclined to regard himself as a gentleman of leisure,—the means to that leisure being supplied by his parents. As to his "misfortunes," the principal one seems to have been his fondness for liquor. This did stand in his way until he was about forty years old. Though, as his candid biographer tells us, "for the last thirty years of his life he was perfectly correct and temperate in all his habits," when just out of college he was both eccentric and intemperate.[5]

As James was a great reader on a variety of subjects, the problem of what to do with him was more or less solved when the College Librarian worked him in as his substitute. This was toward the end of 1769; James was staying on at the College as a graduate student, and this arrangement probably suited him to a T. In the spring of 1772 his chief resigned in order to become the sheriff of Duke's County, and the Faculty turned the care of the Library over to Winthrop; in December of that year he was formally appointed Librarian, with a salary of £60. Thereafter his parents almost always referred to him as "the Librarian," instead of as Jemmy or James.[6]

Soon after the preliminaries for this appointment were out of the way, James Winthrop appeared at the Commencement exercises as a candidate for the degree of Master of Arts. Having been assigned a "part," he presented the affirmative side of the question whether the doctrine of fatalism is utterly subversive of all religion (*An Doctrina fatalis Necessitatis omnem Religionem funditus evertat*).

With Winthrop immured in the College Library, one might expect him to remain there for the remainder of his days,—cataloguing the books and reading prodigiously in almost every field of learning. But James Winthrop was not a bookworm; though he was a reader and a scholar, his restless energy overflowed into entirely unrelated channels. Soon after the Provincial Congress assumed the government of Massachusetts he was appointed postmaster for the town of Cambridge.[7] This was a fairly important position because, owing to the siege of Boston, Cambridge had become the starting

point of a number of extensive post roads. Madam Winthrop must have been pleased to see her son established in two respectable positions, but if she had been in Cambridge on the hot afternoon of June 17, 1775, she would have been distressed to see her librarian-postmaster trudging down the road toward Charlestown, where the battle of Bunker Hill was imminent. That was just what James Winthrop would do, and that is what he did. Theoretically he should have been more than busy at the College, for two days earlier the Provincial Congress had ordered the removal of the library to the town of Andover "with the greatest safety and despatch." But when word was received that reinforcements were needed at Charlestown to relieve the men who had worked all night building the redoubt, Librarian Winthrop shouldered a gun and started down the road.

As he hurried along with another excited young man, James Swan, he was overtaken by Dr. Joseph Warren on horseback, and they exchanged greetings. A few hours later Dr. Warren lay dead on the field of battle, James Winthrop had "got a slight wound with a musket ball in his hand," and Swan had been wounded twice. Upon reaching Bunker Hill, the two free-lance volunteers went first to the celebrated rail fence. There were two field-pieces there but no artillery men with them. Near one of these guns stood General Putnam and Dr. Warren discussing the situation. Winthrop and his companion spoke with them and then passed on to the redoubt. Apparently they were trying to decide where they could be of the most use. According to Winthrop, "We supposed, from the position of the British troops that their intention was to advance between our intrenchment and the Mystic river, and that it would become necessary to have that part of our line well guarded. We expressed our opinion, and some of the people about us desired us to go and see if any sufficient force was there. We two accordingly went over to the rail-fence, and being arrived near the place where we had seen the two generals, and where the field-pieces were still standing, the firing commenced."[8]

In this letter Winthrop does not tell us when and where he was wounded; but Alden Bradford, who was one of his friends and seems to have been well informed though not always accurate in his statements, tells the story thus: "Mr. Winthrop was at the redoubt, and at the temporary breastwork thrown up on the eastern side of the hill, and was among the last who left Charlestown, when the Americans were obliged to retreat. In descending the emi-

nence toward the neck, he was struck by a musket ball. Though the wound was, fortunately, not mortal, the shock was so powerful as to throw him prostrate on the ground. The enemy did not pursue our troops; and he escaped, and returned to Cambridge."[9]

As might have been expected, James Winthrop enjoyed being the Librarian of Harvard College much more than he did being the postmaster of Cambridge. He held the former office for almost fifteen years; from the latter he resigned at the end of six weeks. As he took pains to explain to the President of the Provincial Congress, the office yielded only about sixpence a day, and that was not enough to live on. He carefully let it be known, however, that he intended to remain in Cambridge and would be glad to be considered for some other local position, if there should be a vacancy.[10] Two months later, the Council—of which his father was an important member—appointed him Register of Probate for Middlesex County. On the same day, September 6, 1775, his father was appointed Judge of Probate; all things considered, it was a very happy arrangement, especially as Cambridge was one of the county seats and the courthouse was only a few hundred feet from the Winthrops' dooryard. That James liked it may be inferred from the fact that he remained in this office for more than forty years, resigning in 1817.[11]

When his father, Professor Winthrop, died in the spring of 1779, probably no one was more eager than James to be appointed his successor as Hollis Professor of Mathematics and Natural and Experimental Philosophy. In various ways he was qualified, and he had the support of a number of learned men and friends of the College; but his intemperate lapses, his eccentricities, and his tactless independence persuaded the Corporation that it would be wiser to choose someone else. This created, or widened, a breach between Librarian Winthrop and President Langdon and split the Governing Boards into two parties. Dr. Langdon was a fine, sensitive man with a difficult task to perform: the war made everybody a little on edge, the students were insolent and unruly, and he himself was on the verge of a nervous breakdown. This Winthrop business was about the last straw, and it looks very much as if disappointed James Winthrop openly encouraged the students in their outrageous attempt to force President Langdon to resign.[12] The plot succeeded and he sent in his letter of resignation in the summer of 1780.

The Governing Boards may not have been plunged into gloom by the

prospect of losing Dr. Langdon, but there were those who, to say the least, found Librarian Winthrop presumptuous. Three or four years earlier one of the Appletons commented on an appointment that did not please Winthrop: "So you may perceive the redoubtable Mr. H[ancock] and his crony Jimmy W[inthrop] are not absolute in the government of the College."[13] The Reverend William Gordon, D.D., expressed his opinion quite frankly at the meeting of the Board of Overseers. According to the Reverend John Eliot, who was present, when the question of Dr. Langdon's resignation was brought up, Dr. Gordon "blazed away at the meeting; insisted upon it that this whole proceeding arose from the mere malice of one of the governors of the College (Mr. W., the Librarian), who had the impudence to tell Mr. and Mrs. Langdon to their heads that he had long sought an opportunity to revenge an affront to him by the President some years since, and now that he was gratified."[14] Presumably either Gordon or Eliot exaggerated, yet somehow one has the feeling that the accusations against James Winthrop were at least founded on fact. There seems to have been a streak of malice in the man, for on another occasion Eliot refers to something Winthrop had published, which was "malitiously meant" to lessen the reputation of the gentleman who had succeeded his father as Hollis Professor of Mathematics and Natural Philosophy.[15]

One of the pleasant aspects of being the Librarian of Harvard College was that whenever one wished to run away from Cambridge on a scientific expedition, the matter could be easily arranged. All one had to do was to produce a substitute and ask the Faculty for leave of absence. So in 1780 Winthrop explored Mount Monadnock in southwestern New Hampshire and tried to ascertain its height with a barometer; according to one of his contemporaries, the instrument "was broken in ascending, and we have his opinion only for the height of nearly ¾ of a mile from the level of the sea." It was not a bad guess, all things considered.*

In the autumn of that year Winthrop was one of a party of Harvard professors and students who went to Long Island in Penobscot Bay, Maine, to

* In fairness to Winthrop it should be stated that the quotation about the broken barometer is from an entry in the Diary of his friend William Bentley, written in 1793. Bentley may have been in error; he may have been thinking of Manasseh Cutler, who spilled some mercury out of the tube of a barometer when climbing Mt. Washington in 1784. In a paper read before the American Academy of Arts and Sciences in 1786 and in a letter to Jeremy Belknap dated January 29, 1791, Winthrop made no mention of any accident of this kind and computed the height of Monadnock to be 3254 feet above the level of the sea. The height, as now given by the United States Government, is 3165 feet.

observe an expected total eclipse of the sun. The situation was complicated by the fact it was war-time and the British commanded Penobscot Bay. Apparently this major difficulty was reduced to a minimum by the two governments concerned, and on October 9, 1780, the expedition sailed for the coast of Maine in the State galley *Lincoln*. The eclipse occurred on October 27, with the condition of the weather distinctly favorable for observations; it began about 11.11 A.M. and ended at 1.50 P.M. Professor Williams, the head of the party, used a reflecting telescope with magnifying power of 90; Winthrop used "a reflecting telescope, made by Nairne, magnifying 55 times." Although the eclipse took place, at Long Island in Penobscot Bay it was not quite total, which must have been a considerable disappointment to the gentlemen from "the University at Cambridge."[16] Among the astronomical phenomena which were observed by Winthrop in the 1780's, but without involving his traveling from Cambridge, were an eclipse of the moon in March, 1782, and a transit of Mercury over the sun in November of the same year.

In 1788 he became interested in Dighton Rock, in southeastern Massachusetts. Going to Dighton, upon the invitation of Judge Baylies, he made a copy of its mysterious inscription which was long preserved in the Museum of Harvard College. Probably it was this copy of the inscription that attracted the attention of President Washington when he visited the Museum (in Harvard Hall) in the autumn of 1789. Washington was amused by one of the fantastic theories about the origin and significance of the characters; he had seen somewhat similar inscriptions in the wilderness of Virginia and "had no doubt the [Dighton Rock] inscription was made, long ago, by some natives of America." Winthrop appears to have been well pleased with the results of his attempt to reproduce exactly the hieroglyphics he saw on the face of the Rock, but the most recent authority on the subject is convinced "that Winthrop's result is the least trustworthy of any." That was the trouble with some of James Winthrop's work.[17]

The President and Fellows seem to have been a little dubious about Winthrop as Librarian of Harvard College; his appointment was apt to be "for not more than one year." In the spring of 1784 he was appointed for three years, but before his term expired the Governing Boards legislated that no member of the immediate government of the College should hold any civil or judicial office.[18] This meant that Winthrop must give up either

his position as Librarian or the office of Register of Probate. Whether or not this academic statute was aimed primarily at him, the result was the same: he gave up the Library and the Museum after Commencement in 1787. If he was eased out of Harvard, his injured pride may have been somewhat soothed when he received the degree of Master of Arts from Dartmouth College in the same summer. It was not an honorary degree as the term is now used, but the result of an intercollegiate courtesy that enabled the holder of a Master's degree from one respectable institution to qualify without further effort for the corresponding degree from another.

Whatever James Winthrop's defects may have been, he possessed an abundance of both determination and physical courage. In 1775, as we have seen, he took it upon himself to do what he could to keep Bunker Hill from falling into the hands of the British. In the summer of 1778 he obtained leave of absence from the College, volunteered, and took part in the ill-starred Rhode Island campaign conducted by General Sullivan.[19] In the winter of 1786–87 another enemy threatened the welfare of Massachusetts: Daniel Shays and his insurgent associates were behaving very badly in the western part of the state. Either as a volunteer or as a regular member of the militia, Winthrop accompanied General Lincoln to the front and, as one of his contemporaries expressed it, "was among the most active in suppressing the riotous assemblies of the people, and in discountenancing the sentiments by which many inconsiderate citizens were at that time actuated."[20]

It is rather odd that after this direct encounter with the forces of rebellion James Winthrop should have been opposed to the ratification of the proposed Federal Constitution. But Winthrop himself was odd, and it is probably true that he was the author of seventeen Antifederalist articles over the signature of "Agrippa" that appeared in the *Massachusetts Gazette* between November 23, 1787, and February 5, 1788. These letters, which Paul Leicester Ford called "the ablest anti-federal publications printed in Massachusetts," show fear of a too strong central government; from their author's point of view, the question before the people was "whether they will have a limited government or an absolute one." Winthrop, if he was the author, favored merely amending the Articles of Confederation, but he seems to have changed his mind from time to time; one Federalist accused him of shifting his position three times in three months, while another was inclined to put him down as "non-compos." When a handbill setting forth the "Disadvantages

of Federalism" was widely posted and distributed in the streets of Boston, about the middle of November, James Warren and James Winthrop were suspected of being the authors and so "abettors of anarchy and confusion."[21] Winthrop's brother John, who was a member of the Massachusetts Ratifying Convention, may have shared some of his opinions to a certain extent,—but when the time came, he voted for ratification.

In the summer of 1788 Winthrop's hopes of becoming the Hollis Professor of Mathematics and Natural Philosophy may have had a second blooming. The gentleman who occupied that enviable chair resigned, more or less under fire, and the President and Fellows looked about for a successor. James Winthrop was not a favorite of President Willard and presumably he knew this to be the case and consequently entertained no real expectation of being recalled to Harvard to fill the vacant professorship.[22] Evidently, however, there were those who thought that there was a possibility of his being appointed, and one of them went out of his way to prevent such a catastrophe by writing a letter to the Boston *Herald of Freedom*.[23] It was written from Cambridge, dated January 4, 1789, and signed—quite appropriately—"Cassius." If the reader understands that it should be taken with a grain of antitoxin, it may not be unfair to Mr. Winthrop to reprint it here.

> The abilities of the gentleman lately mentioned as candidate for the Professorship (lately vacated by the removal of Dr. Williams,) as a national philosopher, are not to be disputed. Envy will fail, though she cast her most invenomed shafts at this part of his character. His frequent communications to the Academy of Arts and Sciences &c. of which he is a useful member, evince his deep researches into the more abstruse parts of science, and wishes to promote its cause. But, although these qualifications intitle him to universal respect, it must be confessed he needs many others which are essentially necessary to gain our love and esteem. The publick have had reason, frequently, to notice this defect, by many performances which evince a very unhappy disposition to wound the feelings, and perhaps the characters of many worthy persons. Let a set of *characters* written by him, and published some time since in the Boston Magazine, bear testimony to the verity of this assertion. There he attempted to sully the reputation of many worthy gentlemen, who, at that time, and now deserve the warmest encomiums.
>
> His character, when Librarian of the University, is well known. He was respected but never beloved. There was *something* in his manners, which betrayed that all was not right in the mind. An affected independency of spirit rendered him ridiculous to those who certainly knew him to be very obsequious to such as were able to place him in a dignified station. But, when he was disappointed of a place for which he made great interest, the consequence was he descended to defaming those persons to whom he owed the less honorable place he then enjoyed:
>
> The governors of the University have frequently been witnesses to his love of

singularity. He would in all cases dissent from their opinions, and make a point of opposing their proceedings. Was not this setting a bad example to the students? could they be blamed for following the example of one of their preceptors? Be assured these remarks are not dictated by malice, or the effect of fixed prejudice. I am confident the gentleman has many friends, and these, powerful. They will undoubtedly use their utmost endeavours to place him in the philosophical department. But to the candid lovers of science, I appeal; to the Corporation and Overseers of the University let me propose one question—is a person of the character Mr. W—— sustains as *a man*, (considered seperately from the *philosopher*) a proper person for that very important office?

It is my humble opinion, that a man proper for the place, should be possessed of those abilities that will gain the affection and confidence of the students. If he is not, his pupils will esteem every lesson a burthen, and every lecture a task. On the contrary, if the person unites with the learning of Mr. W. that politeness, affability and attention which he evidently needs, the student would be more eager in his literary pursuits, and, influenced by a desire of gaining the friendship and approbation of the person he esteems, will apply with the most asiduous care to his exercises. I have had an opportunity to know the character of Mr. W——. I wish, in justice to my conscience, it were possible to speak better of him, or place him in a more amiable view.

For these reasons, I wish Mr. W—— may not obtain the place. His unpopular talents would render him the enemy of the students, for it is absolutely impossible, (and I believe I reason pretty safely, if we may judge from what is past) for him to behave with propriety in the capacity of a governor of the University. It has been said that he will reform. But I ask whether it is not very improbable that a person, now advanced in years, should alter his course of life, or be able to work a thorough reformation in that mode of behaviour which he has ever practised.

The next issue of the *Herald of Freedom* contained a defense of Winthrop by one who signed himself "Atticus." Somehow it is not so persuasive as the earlier communication; but it is valuable because it denies Winthrop's authorship of the libelous articles in volume II of the *Boston Magazine*. As the reader has probably surmised before now, the President and Fellows did not invite James Winthrop to become the next Hollis Professor of Mathematics and Natural Philosophy.

Soon after his mother's death in 1790 Mr. Winthrop wrote her old friend Mercy Warren (Mrs. James Warren): "The mansion house is settled upon me. When I shall get into it I do not know. I have lived pretty much by accident till I have turned thirty-eight. It is not, I believe, the want of that sensibility which induces partial attachments that has prevented me from a regular manner of life; but it has been the want of funds."[24] The "mansion house" was the dignified, gambrel-roofed dwelling in which he had grown up and where his father and stepmother, in their time, had entertained an

almost continuous stream of guests. It stood on the northwest corner of what we call Mount Auburn and Boylston Streets. The problem of his keeping house there was solved by Mrs. Timothy Hilliard, widow of the late minister of the First Church in Cambridge, who moved over from Holyoke Street and took charge of the establishment.[25] She had a number of children, who helped to fill the many rooms. Several years later her son William named one of his sons James Winthrop Hilliard. In 1791 Mr. Winthrop's financial worries were removed by his being appointed a Judge of the Court of Common Pleas for Middlesex County.[26] It was a strange office to entrust to a man of his temperament, and one cannot help surmising that it would not have come to him if his friend John Hancock had not been governor of the Commonwealth at that time. Now that he was both Judge and Register, James Winthrop could hardly attribute his unmarried state to "want of funds"; nevertheless he remained a bachelor to the end of the chapter.

Toward the end of 1779, while the Revolutionary War was still going on, a number of gentlemen in and around Boston decided to form a new "society for promoting useful knowledge." It was to be similar to the Royal Society in London and the American Philosophical Society at Philadelphia. In May, 1780, the organization was incorporated under the name of The American Academy of Arts and Sciences; among the sixty or more charter members was Mr. James Winthrop. In the following August James Bowdoin was elected president, and James Winthrop, cabinet keeper.[27] Winthrop's father, who had died in 1779, would have added lustre to this aggregation of wealth, intelligence, and respectability. Since that could not be, his versatile son did his best to supply the insight and integrity that were rightly associated with the family name.

James Winthrop's first contribution to its *Memoirs* was an "Account of the Transit of Mercury, observed at Cambridge, November 12, 1782"; then came "Geometrical Methods of finding any required Series of Mean Proportionals between given Extremes," "A Rule for Trisecting Angles geometrically," "Barometrical Observations, and Remarks, made during a Tour to Lake Champlain," "Remarks on an Eclipse of the Moon seen at Jerusalem, not long before the death of Herod, and mentioned by Josephus," and an "Account of an Inscribed Rock, at Dighton, in the Commonwealth of Massachusetts, accompanied with a copy of the Inscription."

The second volume of the Academy's *Memoirs* was published in 1793,

but no subsequent volume included any contributions from Mr. Winthrop —though he lived until 1821. Something occurred that put an end to the publication of his many and varied effusions, and that something was the discovery by "several of the members, skilled in the mathematical science" that in his paper on the duplication of the cube ("Geometrical Methods of finding any required Series of Mean Proportionals between given Extremes") Mr. Winthrop "had not demonstrated his theorem." They pointed this out to him, but the author insisted that his paper should be included in the next volume of the *Memoirs*, and the Committee for Publication granted his request. Soon after Part 1 of that volume appeared the Academy received a communication from an outsider, "George Baron, late Master of the Mathematical Academy at South Shields, in the County of Durham, in England," who proved that Winthrop had made a mistake which rendered both his method and the result "universally false."[28] The best the Academy could do was to include Mr. Baron's remarks in its next publication, appending to it a note explaining how the committee had come to include Winthrop's misleading paper. It was embarrassing, to say the least; and it is not surprising that no more communications from James Winthrop found their way into the volumes of the American Academy of Arts and Sciences.*

One of the most stimulating men in Boston in the decade following the adoption of the Federal Constitution was the Reverend Jeremy Belknap of the Federal Street Church. During the period of the recent war he had been the minister at Dover, New Hampshire, and while there he had brought out the first volume of his excellent *History of New Hampshire*. After his return to Boston in 1787 he completed the second volume, which was published in 1791. In the latter year he and some of his friends with similar interests formed a society, the purpose of which was to be the collection and preservation of materials for American history. Thus came into being the Massachusetts Historical Society, the oldest institution of its kind in the United States. The inmost circle of this group, the five gentlemen who formulated the general plan, included James Winthrop, of Cambridge, and

* Another "outsider" who detected Winthrop's fallacy was young Nathaniel Bowditch, of Salem, then about twenty years old. A few years later (1797) Bowditch wrote to President Willard of Harvard College: "I should not at this time have brought it forward, had not Mr. Winthrop, when in Salem, about a fortnight ago, publicly asserted that his demonstration was just, and that he had fully confirmed it, in a late communication to the Academy. I have only shown his error in one case; but the method of demonstrating being nearly the same, the error in the other cases may be easily proved." Sidney Willard, *Memories of Youth and Manhood*, 1. 92.

he deserves to be regarded as one of the founders. Among the others were his classmate Peter Thacher, minister of the Brattle Street Church, and, of course, Jeremy Belknap, with whom the idea had originated. According to a fellow member of the Society: "Judge Winthrop took a great interest in the objects of the association. He was one of the standing committee till his death, and was seldom absent from his place at the hour of meeting."[29] In the century and a half beginning with James Winthrop in 1791 and ending with the death of Grenville Lindall Winthrop in 1943, the family was continuously represented on the roll of the Society, with the exception of a few months in 1905–06. The Winthrop record is in a class by itself.

At the second meeting of the Society, held "at the house of the President, James Sullivan, Esq., on Saturday the 9th day of April, 1791," Judge Winthrop presented a short list of books which he would give to the Society towards forming an historical library; the most interesting title is "Governor Hutchinson's Collection of Papers" (*A Collection of Original Papers Relative to the History of the Colony of Massachusetts-Bay*, Boston, 1769), a volume which many of us would be glad to have on our shelves today. In the course of the next fifteen years he continued his donations: some were books or pamphlets, a good many were maps, and one consisted of "three bills of Massachusetts currency, printed upon parchment" in 1727. One of the maps was of Cambridge and may have been the one subsequently found among the papers of Dr. Abiel Holmes, of Cambridge, which bears the inscription: "Plan of Cambridge, adapted to the year 1635. By James Winthrop." A part of it was copied and inserted in Lucius R. Paige's *History of Cambridge*. In January, 1792, the Judge expected the members to hold the quarterly meeting at his house in Cambridge; but when the time came only three besides himself were present, and "a quorum not appearing, no business was done." In mid-winter, Cambridge may well have seemed a long way from Boston. A more inviting occasion was the summer meeting in 1793, which was held on July 30 "at Winthrop's or Governor's Island" in Boston Harbor. This charmingly situated island, once the summer residence of Governor John Winthrop, had come down in the family and now belonged to the Judge.

In December, 1794, the Massachusetts Historical Society appointed Judge Winthrop a committee to submit a design for a seal for the use of the Society, and about a month later he handed in a rough sketch which he

described as follows: "An antiquary sitting on a ruin, and copying an inscription from the pedestal of an obelisk. Beyond the obelisk appears an ancient wall and gateway, and behind the wall a pyramid. The ruins of a decayed portico appear before part of the pyramid, and are seen, together with some scattered fragments of columns, behind the antiquary. The legend, 'Massachusetts Historical Society, 1794 [the year of its incorporation]. *E Vetustate Lux.*' "[30] The Society was appalled. The design might be entirely appropriate for James Winthrop and his own special historical interests, but as a seal for the use of the Society as a whole it left much to be desired. Politely but firmly the members present voted: "That the subject be referred to the next meeting of the Society; and that in the mean time, each member turn his attention to it." There the matter was allowed to rest for almost forty years. In 1833, about twelve years after the death of James Winthrop, the question was brought up again and the President of the Society, Lieutenant Governor Thomas Lindall Winthrop, was appointed a committee to prepare and submit a design. He delegated the task to another member, Judge John Davis, who recommended the now familiar beehive with bees at work and the abbreviated line from Virgil, "*Sic vos non vobis.*" The Winthrop-Davis design was approved and adopted on February 27, 1834.

James Winthrop's published contributions to the literature of the Massachusetts Historical Society consist of "A general Description of the County of Middlesex," a brief biographical memoir of William Fisk, of Waltham, and one of the Honorable James Sullivan, the Society's first president. Of one of his communications some of his fellow members appear to have been wary. It was referred to the Publishing Committee in 1802,—and that is the last we hear of it![31] In 1817 he was added to the "committee to consider and report on the printing of an entire edition of Winthrop's Journal." In the course of time the recommendation of this committee led to James Savage's edition of John Winthrop's *History of New England.* From July 8, 1819, until his death on September 26, 1821, James Winthrop enjoyed the distinction of being the senior member of the Massachusetts Historical Society.

Two other learned societies to which Mr. Winthrop was elected were the American Philosophical Society, at Philadelphia, and the American Antiquarian Society, at Worcester, Massachusetts. In June, 1804, Francis Nichols read before the Philadelphia philosophers "Some account of the Amel-

ioration of climate in Massachusetts," which he had received in a letter from Mr. Winthrop. This plus friendly interest was probably responsible for his election in the spring of 1809.[32] Oddly enough, among the other gentlemen elected at the same meeting was Nathaniel Bowditch, who had been one of the first to detect the error in Winthrop's unfortunate contribution to the publications of the American Academy of Arts and Sciences mentioned above. The American Antiquarian Society, founded in 1812, was a sort of inland Massachusetts Historical Society. James Winthrop was elected into it in 1813 and was for five years (1816–21) a member of its Council.

Back in 1780, when Winthrop sailed for the coast of Maine to view an eclipse of the sun, the President and Fellows entrusted the care of the Harvard College Library to a very young Tutor named William Bentley. This experiment succeeded so well that a few months later the Faculty voted: "That it be recommended to Mr. Winthrop whenever he shall be necessarily absent, to leave the keys of the Library under the care of Mr. Tutor Bentley, because he is employed in making an alphabetical catalogue of the tracts in the Library."[33] Mr. Winthrop was not entirely pleased, because he had another substitute in mind; but in the course of time association with Bentley brought about a lasting friendship. Though Bentley became the pastor of a church in Salem, and Winthrop became a judge, the two men had much in common: both were interested in classical antiquities, natural phenomena, and languages of almost every variety; in politics both became Jeffersonians; and both were life-long bachelors. Whenever Bentley came to Cambridge he sought out Mr. Winthrop, who showed him the latest additions to his remarkable collection of coins, and entertained him with "his rich and very engaging conversation on all interesting subjects."

The two bachelors did not always agree, and after reading Winthrop's booklet entitled *An Attempt to Translate the Prophetic Part of the Apocalypse of Saint John into Familiar Language, by Divesting it of the Metaphors in which it is Involved* (Boston, 1794) Bentley confided to his famous Diary: "This whimsical work shows my friend to have grown learnedly delirious."[34] What he thought of its sequels, *A Systematic Arrangement of Several Scripture Prophecies relating to Antichrist; with their Application to the Course of History* (Boston, 1795) and *An Attempt to Arrange, in the Order of Time, those Scripture Prophecies yet Remaining to be Fulfilled* (Cambridge, 1803), one can only surmise. But a less friendly contemporary gives us his opinion

of some papers that appeared in 1805 and 1806 in a short-lived periodical called *The Literary Miscellany*: "A series of communications was contributed, unsought for, by James Winthrop, Esq., comprising five chapters, with the general title, 'Primitive History'; and the chapters are entitled, severally, 'Of the Geography of the Old World'; 'Events from the Creation to the Flood'; 'Of the Deluge'; 'Of the First Century after the Flood'; 'Of the Colonies planted in the Second and Subsequent Centuries.' The author of this Primitive History relates many things as matters of history which seem to have been familiarly known to him, but which were not known before, and have not been confirmed since by any antiquary or historiographer. Whenever convenience required it, he assumed a fact; and a theory was readily hit upon to sustain it to his own satisfaction. His intellectual vision moved in an eccentric orb, and discovered wonders which he offered for the enlightenment of the less gifted."[35]

Two fields in which Winthrop and Bentley differed were religion and habits. James Winthrop remained staunchly orthodox while Bentley, his junior by seven years, became a Unitarian. During or after a visit from Winthrop, at Salem, Bentley wrote: "My friend Judge Winthrop with me from Cambridge. He boasts a theory of life different from mine. He says he intends to purchase everything with ease, I by labour. He uses little exercise, drinks even his wine hot, and hot water at all times. I have no favour for his plan, as leading to indolence, to irritation, and to irregularity. . . . Had not my friend betrayed in early life very great eccentricity, I should think more kindly of his theory which is rather a convention than a direct conquest, agreed on but not yet signed."[36]

A subject on which Winthrop and Bentley were in complete accord was their younger friend Timothy Alden, Jr., who graduated from Harvard in 1794. Alden came of the best Pilgrim and Puritan stock, but was slow in getting established in life. After a few years of teaching he was ordained to the Congregational ministry and became an associate pastor at Portsmouth, New Hampshire; starved out of that office, he turned to school-teaching again. Upon returning to Boston about 1808, he was elected Librarian of the Massachusetts Historical Society. His friends had hoped that he would be appointed professor of Oriental Languages at Harvard, but nothing came of that pleasing possibility. Like James Winthrop, Alden was both an Orientalist and an antiquarian. In 1794 his Commencement part was "A Syriac

Oration upon 'The Beauty and Magnificence of Nature in America—A View of the Aborigines—The first Settlers of New England compared to the antient Jews, and the several Indian Tribes, which they subdued, to the Canaanites.' " (There is a tradition that President Willard, not knowing a word of Syriac, required the author to translate his address into English before he would approve it.)[37] Twenty years later Alden made an enduring reputation for himself as an antiquarian by publishing his *Collection of American Epitaphs*. But his great achievement was the founding of Allegheny College at Meadville, Pennsylvania, the frontier town which he had chosen for his home.

The College opened in the summer of 1816, with Timothy Alden as president and professor of Oriental Languages. During the preceding year Alden revisited New York and New England and brought back both money and books for the new institution of learning. Presumably James Winthrop was among the more generous contributors, for in 1817 he was made a charter trustee of the college and granted the honorary degree of Doctor of Laws. In his will, which he drew a year later, Winthrop left most of his library "to the Alleghany College at Meadville in Pennsylvania, . . . with my best prayers to God for the success and utility of that institution."[38] In 1819 William Bentley followed his friend's example and left all his "classical and theological books, dictionaries, lexicons, and Bibles" to Allegheny. Timothy Alden may have been a dull preacher, as some in Portsmouth opined, but when it came to getting benefactions from elderly well-to-do bachelors he had the magic touch.

Referring to Winthrop and Bentley, President Willard's son Sidney once wrote, "neither of them left any token of affection to his Alma Mater."[39] This statement is inaccurate and unfair to Winthrop, who bequeathed to "the University of Harvard College" two mahogany cases containing his "collection of antient and modern coins" and added in his will, "I wish for their sake that the collection was more perfect."[40] Doubtless Harvard would have been glad to annex whatever books he possessed that were not duplicates of those already in the College Library and to sell the remainder for what they would bring. But to the infant Allegheny College, this bequest of 3150 volumes was a godsend. Who will say that Judge Winthrop's disposal of his library was not thoughtful and farseeing,—rather than small and vindictive, as has sometimes been suggested?

James Winthrop died at Cambridge on the morning of September 26, 1821,—in his seventieth year,—and was buried in Boston.[41] An obituary of him in the Boston *Columbian Centinel* of October 3 speaks of his kindness of heart as well as of his learning and his peculiarities. He *was* kind; but a world that often rubbed him the wrong way sometimes made him appear to be unfriendly, for he was as outspoken as he was independent. His heart was better than his manners. His learning was wide, but, as a rule, not deep. This made him a stimulating person to meet and a lively one to have at the meetings of a learned society. A liability of which he was probably quite unconscious was a tendency to lapse into trifling and levity in ordinary conversation. This led those who did not know him well to underestimate his erudition and his worth.[42]

Judge Winthrop seems to have kept his library in a separate building. After visiting it, one August day in 1815, William Bentley wrote: "It is disposed in Alcoves on the west side of the Library room opposite his Mansion house, and with a strict regard to all his habits when he had the direction of the University library. He has the French Encyclopedia, Moréri, Stephens and the best Books for such collections, the best classics, and the best translations, and he is rich in the views of antient cities, in natural history, and in antiquities."[43] The historian of Allegheny College tells us: "The first modest valuation placed upon the Winthrop bequest to Allegheny was six thousand dollars.* Later, a fairer estimate was said to be ten. Many of the books were the work of the best English and Continental presses, with here and there the rare and famous handicraft of the Elzevirs." When the time came for the removal of the library to Meadville, Pennsylvania, President Alden journeyed to Cambridge and personally superintended the packing and shipping. Teamsters loaded three tons of books in thirteen boxes and sent them by wagon through Albany and Buffalo to their destination, where they arrived safely on September 3, 1822.[44] In 1823 Allegheny College printed a catalogue of its library and devoted a special section to the books received under this bequest; there is a copy of this catalogue in the Harvard College Library.

Among the sundries of James Winthrop's many-sided career were his activity in connection with a proposed canal across Cape Cod, his interest in the Middlesex Canal linking the Merrimac River with Boston tidewater,

* The precise figure was $6441.73.

and the sale of part of his ancestral Governor's Island to the United States. When a Cape Cod canal was under consideration in 1791, he was engaged to survey a route for it through the town of Sandwich to Buzzards Bay. This he did in the month of May, and his Journal of it is both interesting and unconsciously charming. Early in June he made a cursory examination of the Barnstable region, which he did not find suitable for the enterprise.[45] But, as everyone knows, the Cape Cod canal remained a dream until early in the twentieth century. The Middlesex Canal, on the other hand, became a reality. Begun in 1794 and opened to traffic in 1803, it functioned adequately until the establishment of the Lowell railroad made it obsolete as a means of transportation. Winthrop was one of the proprietors named in the act of incorporation, became a director, and even after the ninety-sixth assessment he still held four shares of the stock.[46] Distinctly more remunerative was his sale of six acres of Governor's Island for the tidy sum of $15,000.* In the early years of the nineteenth century the probability of war with either England or France moved even the Jeffersonians to do something about making Boston a less easy mark for an enemy fleet, and the situation and conformation of Governor's Island seemed to make it an advantageous place for a new fort down the harbor. What the United States wanted was one acre of land on the southern extremity, three acres on the summit of the hill and a roadway forty feet wide connecting the two; Mr. Winthrop conveyed these to the Federal government in the spring of 1808. The fort erected there was named Fort Warren, in honor of General Joseph Warren who lost his life at Bunker Hill. Later that name was transferred to a fort on George's Island, and the works on Governor's Island were renamed Fort Winthrop in memory of Governor John Winthrop.[47]

A portrait of James Winthrop formerly (1879) owned by his grand-niece, Mrs. J. J. De Wolfe, of Providence, Rhode Island, is reproduced in volume 1 of the *Proceedings* of the Massachusetts Historical Society (facing page 338); the name of the artist is not known. The face is interesting; it is intelligent and affable, yet lacks something to make it entirely satisfying. Is it a little quizzical? Or was the subject smiling inwardly, and perhaps a bit scornfully, at a world that never fully appreciated him?

Allegheny College owns a portrait strongly resembling the one men-

* In 1798 the Federal government assessed the whole island at $500. *Twenty-second Report of the Record Commissioners of the City of Boston*, 442.

tioned above; it is reproduced here. Its history is not without interest. As President Timothy Alden had repeatedly expressed a desire to have a portrait of James Winthrop "to accompany the books," James's brother William engaged William Lewis to do one from "an imperfect miniature of Judge Winthrop, which was painted, without his knowledge of it, about 20 years before his decease." The portrait was painted and framed before midsummer in 1824, and a few weeks later it was shipped to Philadelphia on the schooner *Pilot*; from there it would, of course, go overland to Meadville.[48] It now has an honored place in the Treasure Room of the library of Allegheny College.

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34. *The Diary of William Bentley*, I. 277; II. 98.
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36. *The Diary of William Bentley*, III. 98.
37. Ernest Ashton Smith, *Allegheny—A Century of Education*, 7.
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39. Sidney Willard, *Memories of Youth and Manhood*, I. 129*n.*
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48. Letters from William Winthrop to Timothy Alden, July 23 and September 29, 1824; in

the library of Allegheny College. For this material the present writer is indebted to Mr. Philip Mohr Benjamin, the Librarian, whose generous coöperation will not soon be forgotten.

WILLIAM[6] WINTHROP (*John*[5], *Adam*[4], *Adam*[3], *Adam*[2], *John*[1]), the youngest son of Professor John Winthrop of Harvard College, was born in Cambridge, Massachusetts, on April 19, 1753, and was baptized there three days later.[1] When admitted to Harvard in the summer of 1766, he was only thirteen years and three months old; but this did not make him the youngest member of the Class of 1770, for one of the boys was only twelve. As a rule, when there was a Winthrop in the Freshman class he was "placed" at the top of the list—or next to the top if one of his classmates was the son of the governor or of some other person in a very high position in the Provincial government. But William was given third place, being outranked by William Sanford Hutchinson, son of Lieutenant Governor Hutchinson of Massachusetts-Bay, and by Gilbert Saltonstall, of New London, Connecticut, whose grandfather had been the governor of that colony for many years. The fourth place was given to his distant cousin John Winthrop of New London. Perhaps this was the best way out of a difficult situation; with Saltonstall placed ahead of William Winthrop, it would balance things more or less if John—who was Saltonstall's first cousin—were placed just below the boy from Cambridge.

William was assigned to Joseph Willard, a very young Tutor who later became president of the College, and seems to have gone through four years of undergraduate life without creating even a ripple of disturbance. When the time for his graduation was drawing near, his stepmother began to worry about his getting established in the outside world. Someone ought to do something about it, and as she was an intimate friend of Madam Hancock, John Hancock's aunt, she did what she could by writing her a letter. After a somewhat elaborate preamble, in which she referred glowingly to Mr. Hancock and his "most noble, disinterested Patriotism," she came out with the business that was on her mind: "However, if I am indulged with his kindness, I believe I shall ask him to confer what we should esteem the greatest of favors. That is to admit our youngest son into his Warehouse, who would think it the highest happiness to serve such a master. After he has taken his

degree we have no prospect at all of entering him into life, and he being of an active make, a state of Idleness will be very disagreeable as well as detrimental to him. . . . Perhaps if Mr. Hancock can't take him himself, as he has such an extensive influence he may think of somebody that will be willing to employ him."[2] William got his Bachelor's degree in 1770, and evidently his stepmother's indirect overtures to the great John Hancock produced the desired result; on August 6 his father wrote in the interleaved almanac he used for a diary: "Carry'd Billy to Boston, and enter'd him in Mr. Hancock's store."

In the autumn of 1772 William's routine duties were pleasantly interrupted by a voyage to Bermuda, where he spent about ten days. He was not the master of the ship; he may have been the supercargo. About all we know is that he kept a journal while there, visited St. George's (the capital), met a number of prominent persons, and had the misfortune to be unsuccessful in bringing back a turtle to his employer. According to William, the creature died "by the Severity of the Cold,"—which seems unlikely, for the return voyage was made toward the end of October. However that may be, "the loss of the Turtle was a very great disappointment to Mr. Hancock, who depended much on entertaining his friends with so great a Rarity."[3]

In 1773 William reappeared at the Commencement exercises at Harvard, this time as a candidate for the degree of Master of Arts. He was prepared to present the affirmative side of the question: Whether commerce flourishes more in free empires than in despotic ones (*An commercium magis vigeat in liberis quam in despoticis imperiis*). As the topics assigned to the candidates were usually appropriate to their special interests, presumably William was, at that time, still on the road to becoming a merchant. A little later, however, one gets the impression that he—like his elder brother James—preferred the leisurely atmosphere of the College to trying to make a name and a fortune for himself in the commercial world. He did, to be sure, go to New York early in the spring of 1776, as agent for James Warren, Paymaster General to the Continental Army, and thence to Philadelphia; but he was back in Cambridge within a few weeks.[4] About this time the Harvard Corporation authorized William to act as Treasurer of the College pending the hoped-for resignation of John Hancock; this delegation of power was proposed by Mr. Hancock, who could not function satisfactorily as Treasurer of Harvard while serving as President of the Continental Congress at Philadelphia and

yet was reluctant to part with his academic office.[5] In the following summer Winthrop substituted in the College Library, of which his brother James was the Librarian, while the regular substitute was undergoing inoculation. In the autumn of 1778 the Faculty granted him "Liberty at present to occupy the chamber No. 2 in the College House, upon such Rent as the students shall pay, for the convenience of a lodging Room, and not under the Laws for resident Graduates," a special arrangement that lasted until the spring of 1780.[6] Somehow this record is not very impressive for a young man's first decade after graduation, and his stepmother was probably both relieved and gratified when he was chosen Town Clerk in 1782, an office to which he was re-elected annually until 1788. In 1784 he became Register of Deeds for Middlesex County and he remained in that useful but unexciting position until 1795. That his fellow Cantabrigians liked him is fairly clear, for in ten of the years between 1786 and 1802 they chose him to be one of their Selectmen.[7] More than once in the 1780's he and his brother James made themselves useful on Harvard Commencement Days by acting as "magistrates" and helping to preserve peace and good order on those tumultuous occasions. The President and Fellows thought that the Winthrops did this very well and thanked them for their valiant services.[8]

William Winthrop's failure to be re-elected Town Clerk in 1788 may well have been due to his being an Antifederalist during the preceding months, when the ratification of the Federal Constitution was a burning question. On that issue both he and James were out of step with the great majority of their Cambridge friends and neighbors. When the town elected its delegates to the Ratifying Convention, James received only one vote,—and one can hardly be blamed for wondering whether it was William's ballot or his own that gave him that unenviable distinction.[9] William's political following wavered in the 1790's; but in 1799, when Jeffersonianism began to prevail in Middlesex County, he was elected to the Legislature and so became the Honorable William Winthrop, Esq.*

As early as 1791 William had established himself as a gentleman farmer on property formerly belonging to Colonel David Phips, an active Loyalist. In the summer of that year, his brother's friend William Bentley recorded in his Diary: "I returned to Cambridge and dined with W. Winthrop Esq., who

* In Lucius R. Paige's excellent *History of Cambridge*, and elsewhere, it is stated that he was elected a State Senator; but in his own annotated *Triennial Catalogue*, Mr. Winthrop entered after his name "Rep. for Cambridge."

received us very politely. A trifling dispute upon the facts of the Crucifixion destroyed the enjoyment of this Scene. The farm of about 50 acres is in the highest cultivation. A very exact survey adorned the side of the room in which we dined."[10] Though both William and his brother James were life-long bachelors and appear to have been good friends, they chose to maintain separate establishments. And though they agreed politically, they were far apart in their religious preferences: James was a steadfast Orthodox Congregationalist, whereas William went over to the Church of England and became a pillar of Christ Church in Cambridge. In the first decade of the nineteenth century William lived on the east side of Holyoke Street, near the present corner of Holyoke Street and Holyoke Place, a strong stone's throw from his brother's house on the northwest corner of Spring (Mount Auburn) and Wood (Boylston) Streets. About 1811 he sold the property to Professor Willard and built himself a three-storied mansion on the southerly side of Arrow Street near its junction with Bow, where St. Paul's Church now stands.[11] Here he lived until his death in 1825. About 1862 the Winthrop house was bought by Gordon McKay, who became a great benefactor of Harvard University. On the north bank of the Charles, a little below the Anderson Bridge, there used to be a large wharf called "Squire's wharf"; this name went back to the days of Squire William Winthrop to whom the structure belonged, and it survived in local nomenclature long after its original significance was almost forgotten.[12]

As far as we know, William was the first Massachusetts Winthrop to give up his allegiance to the Congregational Church and become an Episcopalian. It would be interesting to know what led him to so radical a departure from the ways of five generations of ancestors. Was it a Jeffersonian's wish to get away from everything associated with the Federalist party? Or was it because his step-uncle Thomas Fayerweather, one of the grandees of Brattle Street, was a Churchman? Whatever the reason for it may have been, his conversion was a blessing to Christ Church, which was passing through a difficult financial period. William was well-to-do and he proved to be a generous member. When special contributions were needed, in 1804, to obtain the services of a regular organist and "to compensate some person for blowing the Organ when necessary," Mr. Winthrop headed the subscription list with $25, one of the two largest gifts. For ten years, from 1804 till 1814, he was a warden of the church.[13]

Although his brother James was one of the founders of the Massachusetts Historical Society in 1791, William was not elected to membership in it until 1820. This late election is the more remarkable because he had given the Society a number of valuable papers as early as 1799 and it was well known in antiquarian circles that he had for some time been collecting biographical information about all graduates of Harvard College.[14] The American Antiquarian Society had discovered him and elected him a member in 1813; and three years later, when one of the counsellors of that organization suggested that he be added to its Committee of Ways and Means, it was pointed out that he "has much of the means himself, and is a bachelor."

It is just possible that some of Squire Winthrop's habits delayed his election to the Massachusetts Historical Society, for it must be admitted that he had his peculiarities. From one or more unidentified sources John Langdon Sibley assembled the following gossipy account of him and recorded it in his "Manuscript Collections," now on deposit in the Harvard University Archives: "After graduating, was bred a merchant in Boston. Subsequently he was Register of Deeds for the County of Middlesex. He continued in commerce long after he became Registrar. He had a weather vane on his house which ran down and turned a compass in his attic so that he could go in the night and see which way the wind was, as was not uncommon when he was expecting the arrival of vessels. He built a house over the cellar of the Governor Phips house. He built a wharf also and kept wood and lumber. In the latter part of his life he was very intemperate. His housekeeper, Nabby Allen, had at last to put the pen into his hand and at such a distance that his pen could reach the paper and he wrote as bad a hand as Stephen Hopkins, though he wrote a very plain and admirable hand before he became intemperate.* He made Timothy L. Jennison and Abraham Hilliard executors and trustees of his estate, without bonds, for twenty-one years. Jennison resigned, he had so much difficulty, and Hilliard continued and held the property as agent some years after that time expired. W. W. was never married. He required Nabby Allen to keep brandy toddy mixed in a pint tumbler and kept sipping it, and when it was nearly gone he would call Nabby to replenish it. He was author of the MS memorials of the graduates of the college. At one time he had a huge stock of cattle on his farm and supplied the col-

* In fairness to Squire Winthrop it should be stated that toward the end of his life he was almost totally blind. Letter from William Winthrop to Timothy Alden, September 29, 1824; in the library of Allegheny College.

lege with milk. He was a very handsome man. Was he Representative, or Senator, or Councillor? He was a strong Jeffersonian democrat. He was much respected for everything except his intemperance."[15]

That William Winthrop was generous is evident from his treatment of Harvard College. On at least one occasion he refused to accept his commission on a large quantity of wood he had bought for his *alma mater*. The President and Fellows met the situation gracefully by giving the money to the College Library and by granting Mr. Winthrop the use of the Library *gratis*. About this time (1797) he transmitted to the College a valuable manuscript volume now known as "Benjamin Wadsworth's Book." It was placed in his hands by Andrew Bordman, whose grandfather was the Steward in President Wadsworth's day. This record, which has been called "one of the most important sources for the history of education in colonial times," has been printed by the Colonial Society of Massachusetts,—in volume xxxi of its *Publications*.[16]

William Winthrop's chief contribution to the historical world was his "Catalogue of Harvard Graduates" to which he devoted much time and care. He seems to have begun work on it before 1795, and to have achieved a considerable reputation among genealogists and others for his knowledge in his chosen field.[17] For instance, on December 9, 1812, he noted in his Diary: "Dr. Kendal of Weston called just before dinner, to obtain information to enable him to make a Century Sermon." Three years earlier his brother James wrote, "My Brother's catalogue is not sent to the press and it seems to me that he aims at an ideal perfection which prevents us from having it at all."[18] Brother James was rather addicted to rushing into print, and it may well be that William was the more cautious on that account. As it turned out, his "Catalogue" never was published; but its existence was, and still is, well known. This work is an annotated *Triennial Catalogue* of the graduates of Harvard College. The manuscript notes are entered after the printed names and are often crowded because of lack of space. John Farmer, the pioneer of American genealogists, and of course Sibley, the biographer of Harvard graduates, found it very useful.[19] Apparently many others have turned to it, for the pages of the volume, now in the Harvard University Archives, are soiled and worn from much handling and thumbing.

William Winthrop received the degree of Master of Arts from Allegheny College in 1822, presumably because he already held that degree from Har-

vard and so was more or less entitled to it from other American colleges; it is possible, however, that his brother James's recent bequest to Allegheny and his own reputed wealth and generosity were at least partly responsible for this semi-honorary award. Mr. Winthrop died at Cambridge on Saturday, February 5, 1825, and the funeral was on Wednesday, the ninth. He was in his seventy-second year. A considerable part of his personal estate was sold at auction in the following May.[20]

Squire Winthrop bequeathed to the American Antiquarian Society a portrait of Governor John Winthrop of Massachusetts, which is presumably the one his great-grandfather Adam Winthrop ordered made in the 1690's. Another bequest to the same organization was a tankard that had belonged to Adam Winthrop of England, the father of Governor Winthrop of Massachusetts, and had been in the family for more than two hundred years.[21] A few years after his death his heirs deposited with the Massachusetts Historical Society ten notebooks containing his Diary from May 14, 1812, through December 31, 1821. For the most part the entries are devoted to the weather and the conduct of the farm, but there are occasional glimpses of the social side of the Squire's life. The Massachusetts Historical Society has also a number of his *Triennial Catalogues* and letters from various persons to whom he had written for information about graduates of Harvard College.

The Harvard College Library has a mathematics notebook kept by William Winthrop in his Junior and Senior years in College. The handwriting and the geometrical figures illustrating the problems are more than neat—they are beautiful. The drawings of some buildings are painted with water-colors, and one of them (on p. 97) strongly resembles the meetinghouse of the First Church in Cambridge, which stood on ground now a part of the College Yard. "The Mariner's Compass" (on p. 112) and "The Stereographic Projection on the Plane of the Equator" (on p. 145) are masterpieces of amateur draftsmanship. Four years after his graduation William got out the notebook and began to use the blank pages in connection with his study of "gauging," which he defines as "the Art of finding the Contents of any measure of Capacity, as Casks, Tubs, etc." Again we have the beautiful handwriting, but the pages devoted to gauging are very few.

Not the least interesting feature of the book is William Winthrop's bookplate on the inside of the front cover. Executed by Samuel Hill, it is a graceful treatment of the Winthrop arms accompanied by the motto, *Spes vincit*

terrorem, which is an interesting variant of the family's traditional *Spes vincit thronum*. The latter version has been attributed to John Winthrop, F.R.S., who had a strong liking for thrones and other paraphernalia of royalty. If an heraldic motto is a personal matter, John, F.R.S., had the right to exercise his preference; but most outsiders will probably agree that *Spes vincit terrorem* carries more conviction than does *Spes vincit thronum*. In the days of his youth John Winthrop, F.R.S., toyed with the letters of his name and found to his evident delight that "Iohanes Winthrop" could almost be transposed into "I hope wins a throne." Accordingly he inscribed his name in that pseudo-Latinate form on the flyleaf of his Commonplace Book and wrote the anagram motto directly under it. Similarly, on his bookplate he displayed "I hope wins a throne" under the family arms.[22] Was this vagary on his part responsible for the subsequent use of *thronum* in place of *terrorem* in the motto of his branch of the family?

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10. *The Diary of William Bentley*, I. 279.
11. *Historic Guide to Cambridge*, 74, 80–83; Winthrop Papers (Boston Public Library), II. 58.
12. Massachusetts Historical Society *Collections*, First Series, VII. 3; *Historic Guide to Cambridge*, 83.
13. Samuel Francis Batchelder, *Christ Church, Cambridge*, 55, 83.
14. Massachusetts Historical Society *Proceedings*, I. 285, 122; *New England Historical and Genealogical Register*, I. 65; American Antiquarian Society *Proceedings*, I (181–249), 122*n*.
15. Sibley's "Manuscript Collections," II. 575,—in the Harvard University Archives.

16. Corporation Records, September 29, 1797.

17. See his correspondence relating to Harvard graduates, at the Massachusetts Historical Society; *New England Historical and Genealogical Register*, I. 65; *The Diary of William Bentley*, II. 241.

18. William Winthrop's Diary is at the Massachusetts Historical Society; Massachusetts Historical Society *Collections*, LXXIII. 363.

19. Massachusetts Historical Society *Proceedings*, VIII (1864–65), 46.

20. *The Columbian Centinel*, February 9, 1825; Sibley's "Letters Received," VII. 48, in the Harvard University Archives; Winthrop Manuscripts (Massachusetts Historical Society), 1B. 90. The Houghton Library of Harvard University has what appears to be either a draft or a copy of his will; it mentions a bequest to Nabby Allen, his housekeeper.

21. American Antiquarian Society *Proceedings*, New Series, XXXIII (1923), 236, 247; *ibid.*, XVIII (1906–07), 36; *ibid.*, XL (1930), 3–4; *ibid.*, XV (1902–03), 173.

22. Winthrop Manuscripts (Massachusetts Historical Society), 9A. 2; *ibid.*, 1B. 88; for various Winthrop bookplates, see *ibid.*, 1B. 64, 88.

CHAPTER VII

The Seventh Generation

JOHN STILL[7] WINTHROP (*Francis Bayard*[6], *John Still*[5], *John*[4], *Wait Still*[3], *John*[2], *John*[1]), the eldest son of Francis Bayard and Elsie (Marston) Winthrop, was born on February 14, 1785; the place of his birth is said to have been Lyme, Connecticut.[1] His father, a semi-Loyalist in the American Revolution, had recently returned from England and was the head of the Connecticut branch of the Winthrop family; but how it happened that the child was born at Lyme instead of at the homestead in New London is a mystery. Long before it was time for John to enter college his father had settled in New York City and had become a capitalist with an office in Wall Street and a pleasant out-of-town seat at Turtle Bay,—on the east side of Manhattan Island near the present Forty-sixth Street. Inasmuch as the boy's Grandfather Winthrop, for whom he was named, had graduated from Yale, it was appropriate that he should go to that college; and there he went. He received the degree of Bachelor of Arts in 1804, when he was nineteen years old, and that of Master of Arts three years later.

Returning to New York, Winthrop became a merchant. On August 14, 1808, he married Harriet, daughter of Fitch and Hannah (Bell) Rogers; the ceremony was performed in St. John's (Episcopal) Church in Stamford, Connecticut.[2] The background of Harriet Rogers was very much like that of the man she married. Her first Rogers ancestor in America was in Connecticut as early as 1637 and settled in New London about 1660. Her father, originally of Stamford, was a Loyalist in the American Revolution and found it best to sojourn for a while in St. John, New Brunswick; but he returned to Connecticut in the course of time and then became a merchant in New York City. He was residing in New York in 1803 and 1804, when young Winthrop was a student at Yale.[3] On the same day and at the same place that Harriet Rogers married John Still Winthrop, her first cousin Julia Ann Rogers married his brother, Francis Bayard Winthrop, Jr. To a certain extent these marriages remind one of the Dudley-Winthrop alliances of the seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries, for James Rogers of the seventeenth century and Wait Still Winthrop had disagreed for several years in regard to bounds and trespasses and there was long and troublesome liti-

gation between the two ancestors.[4] In 1810, according to Longworth's *New York Directory* for 1810–11, Mr. John Still Winthrop might be found at 150 Greenwich Street, New York; but whether this address represented his home or his place of business is not clear. Seven years later he was a recognized merchant, with a residence at 109 Liberty Street and an office—J. S. Winthrop and F. Rogers—at 233 Pearl Street. He was a member of the New York Historical Society.

Before 1820 Mr. Winthrop, having acquired a substantial competence, retired to Stamford, Connecticut. His first five children were born in New York City, and the last five in Stamford. His wife died in Stamford on March 2, 1835, aged forty-eight. After her death Mr. Winthrop appears to have returned to New York City; in 1841 he was classified as a *resident* member of the New York Historical Society, and he is listed in the *New York City Directory* for 1845–46 as residing on East Seventeenth Street, near Fifth Avenue.

John Still Winthrop died on September 6, 1855, at the home of his son, Charles Edward Rogers Winthrop, in Tamaroa, Perry County, Illinois; he was seventy years old. A photograph of him is reproduced in Ellery Kirke Taylor's *The Lion and the Hare*, chart L.

Children:

Francis Bayard, born June 24, 1808, died in 1822.

Henry Rogers, born January 31, 1811, graduated from Yale in 1830, became a prominent member of the New York bar, and died at Far Rockaway, Long Island, October 23, 1896, leaving issue. See p. 362.

John Still, born February 11, 1813, married Evelyn Susan Armistead, October 29, 1846, had issue, and died May 8, 1860, at New Bern, North Carolina. See p. 364.

Charles Edward Rogers, born in New York, October 8, 1816, became a judge, and died in Illinois, June 26 or 27, 1888. See p. 365.

Catherine Rogers, born December 13, 1818, died unmarried in 1884.

Cornelia, born October 6, 1819, died unmarried June 22, 1845.

Harriet, born May 18, 1821, died unmarried June 13, 1844.

Emily Rogers, born in 1823, died unmarried June 24, 1864.

Francis Bayard, born April 26, 1826, died unmarried January 14, 1893. Was he the Francis B. Winthrop listed in the New York City *Directory* for 1859–60 as a broker with an office at 4 Hanover Street and residing at New Rochelle?

Susan Remsen, died unmarried in 1896.

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2. Josephine C. Frost, *Ancestors of Henry Rogers Winthrop and his Wife, Alice Woodward Babcock*, 14.
3. James Swift Rogers, *James Rogers*, 27–28, 158.
4. Frances Manwaring Caulkins, *History of New London*, 91–92.

FRANCIS BAYARD[7] WINTHROP (*Francis Bayard*[6], *John Still*[5], *John*[4], *Wait Still*[3], *John*[2], *John*[1]), the second son of Francis Bayard and Elsie (Marston) Winthrop, was born on March 20, 1787; the place of his birth is said to have been Boston, Massachusetts.[1] His father was the head of the Connecticut branch of the Winthrop Family; he had returned from England fairly recently, and during this period was occupied with the management of the Winthrops' sprawling territorial holdings. This may account for Mrs. Winthrop's being in Boston at the time her second son was born. As she was a dyed-in-the-wool New Yorker, there were no family reasons for her being in Boston or its vicinity.

While Francis was still a very little boy, his father settled in New York, where he prospered exceedingly. Before long he was more capitalist than merchant. The family lived very comfortably at Turtle Bay, as the east side of Manhattan Island near the present Forty-sixth Street was then called. Here the boy grew up, and in 1800 he and his older brother, John, entered Yale. Francis was then between thirteen and fourteen years old. He graduated with the class of 1804, and three years later received the degree of Master of Arts from his *alma mater*. At twenty-one he married, and married very appropriately. His bride was Julia Ann Rogers; and though her father was one of the richest, old-line merchants in New York, she came of Connecticut stock.[2] Her earliest Connecticut ancestor, James Rogers, was "one of six men from Saybrook, who, under Captain John Underhill, took part in the Pequot war" in 1637. Her Rogers forebear in the next generation settled in New London and indulged in a long disagreement with his more aristocratic neighbor Wait Still Winthrop. When this was settled by arbitration, about 1670, the two men signed an agreement "as a final issue in all

disputes, suits at law and controversies, from the beginning of the world to the date thereof."[3] Although this treaty of peace did not preclude the possibility of future differences of opinion, the relations between the two families appear to have been increasingly cordial. On the very day (August 14, 1808) that Francis Winthrop married Julia Ann Rogers, his brother John Still Winthrop married her first cousin Harriet Rogers. Both weddings took place in St. John's Church at Stamford, Connecticut. Twelve years later Dr. John Smyth Rogers, a first cousin of these brides, married Augusta Temple Winthrop, of Boston, who was a first cousin of the two grooms.[4]

Francis Winthrop became a merchant in New York City with an office at 229 Pearl Street and a residence at 28 Vesey Street. His wife died in New York on April 21, 1814, in her twenty-sixth year. In January, 1816, he married her cousin Elizabeth Woolsey, a daughter of William Walter and Elizabeth (Dwight) Woolsey. Miss Woolsey's father was a brother-in-law of Mr. Winthrop's first father-in-law, Moses Rogers, and had been his partner in the firm of Rogers and Woolsey. Her mother was a sister of the first President Timothy Dwight of Yale College, and a granddaughter of the renowned Jonathan Edwards. Her brother, Theodore Dwight Woolsey, became the President of Yale in 1846.[5]

In the spring of 1823 Mr. and Mrs. Winthrop moved to New Haven; thus he became Francis Bayard Winthrop of New Haven, which distinguishes him from his father, Francis Bayard Winthrop of New York. Although Mr. Winthrop was not the eldest son, a good many of the family papers seem to have been either in his possession or at his disposal, perhaps because he was known to be interested in colonial history. As early as 1821 he was a member of the New York Historical Society, and when James Savage of the Massachusetts Historical Society, assisted by James Bowdoin (originally James Bowdoin Winthrop), was preparing his 1825 edition of Governor Winthrop's Journal or *History of New England*, Mr. Francis Winthrop of New Haven allowed his cousin (Bowdoin) to copy them for inclusion in the Appendix. Presumably it was he, too, who permitted him to examine and edit about one hundred and thirty Winthrop documents that were published in volumes IX and X of the Third Series of the *Collections* of the Massachusetts Historical Society. In the autumn of 1835 the Society showed its appreciation of his interest and generosity by electing him a Corresponding Member.[6] About forty-five years later, in 1880, Mrs. Laura

Winthrop Johnson, one of his daughters, gave the Society the originals of the manuscripts that Mr. Winthrop had placed at the disposal of Savage and Bowdoin. The donation was made "in her name and those of her sister, Elizabeth Winthrop, and her brother, Colonel William Winthrop, of Washington." There were sixty-eight pages in all, bearing dates from 1620 to 1648.[7]

Although the following correspondence between Francis B. Winthrop and Washington Allston does not redound entirely to the credit of the former as a patron of art, the letters are interesting—and perhaps significant because of the light they shed on certain characteristics of their writers.[8]

New York, Nov. 18, 1816.

Dear Sir

INFLUENCED by a desire to encourage the Fine Arts in our own country, I became in the year 1810 the purchaser of a picture painted by you immediately previous to your embarking for England. This picture you will doubtless recollect I never saw till after the purchase, being entirely guided by Mr. Sullivan's taste and governed by his recommendation. On this I thought I could safely rely. Mr. S. had seen various collections in Europe, and had visited the *Louvre*, and in describing your picture declared that he had never before seen one which *charmed* him *so* much. With the expectation of getting a treasure of inestimable value, something which was *at least* to equal the famed productions of Italy and of France, which would vie with a *Claude* and not be surpassed by a *Gasper Poussin*, I thought the price of $500 *low*, and had the picture equalled the ideas excited by the description, should have thought it even *cheap* at a $1000—but I must confess to you, the picture fell entirely short of all my expectations, and these were not merely grounded on Sullivan's account of it, but on what I had seen of yours at Boston. I immediately wrote to Mr. S. and told him my disappointment, but I presume he never mentioned the subject to you. Not satisfied, however, with my own opinion I hung up the picture and exhibited it to Artists, Connoisseurs, and Amateurs, but could find no admirers for it; not that every part was condemned, far be it from me to take from you the merit of having done much that is excellent in this work, but as a whole it never gave satisfaction to any individual here. Thinking, however, that as it had admirers in Boston, I might sell it there, I sent it to Sullivan; it hung for two or three years at his house and at the Atheneum, but the *only offer* he could obtain for it was $250—this I refused, and the picture, after a long and unsuccessful trial, was returned to me. An Exhibition of the *American Academy* in this city having lately been opened, I sent the picture there, and have at length with difficulty disposed of it for $200, as the person in Boston who made the first offer declined taking it at any price. Had the picture been what I thought myself justified in supposing it would be, as coming from the hand of such a painter as Mr. Alston, I confess to you that *thousands of dollars* would not have tempted me to part with it, but *as it was*, I really did not think it worth the sum I have procured for it. If under all these circumstances you may think that I have *any claim* upon you, it would give me the highest gratification to possess a *small* picture of your production, such as I

know you *can* paint, which would reflect equal honor upon yourself and on the Art you profess; *if not*, I shall merely set this down among the many disappointments to which we are daily subject. Since you left this country I have added many valuable pictures to my collection, and as the pleasure I derive from the Fine Arts is one of the highest I enjoy, it would give me much pleasure to hear from you on subjects connected with it. I am, Dear Sir,

Your Obedient Servant
FRANCIS B. WINTHROP, JUNIOR

Our Exhibition contains some of Trumbull's best pictures, and of other American Artists—some also by Mr. West—and being a first attempt here, does credit to our City.

London, December 27, 1817.

DEAR SIR

I SOME time since recieved a letter from you of rather an old date, which a variety of circumstances have prevented my replying to as soon as I wished. I lament the delay. You express in it great chagrin at having purchased a landscape of mine through the advice of Mr. Sullivan about seven years ago. Had you written me on the subject previously to my leaving America, or at any time since while the picture remained in your possession, I would without hesitation have repurchased of you at the original price of five hundred dollars. Though this is not the usual custom of artists, yet it is what I would willingly have done. But you did not write me until last year, and after you had sold it for two hundred dollars. Allow me incidentally to observe here that the variation in the prices of pictures, whether on private or public sale, is by no means a sure criterion of their merit. There is a picture of Claude's in a great collection here that was originally offered to various connoisseurs for eight hundred guineas, and refused. The proprietor at last was obliged to part with it for five hundred; the fortunate purchaser soon after sold it for four thousand. I could mention an opposite instance. It was but a few months since that a fine historical picture by Opie was purchased for less than the original cost of the frame. These fluctuations are incident alike to the living and old painters; and are but too common. If a picture then will sell at one time for twice as much as it will sell for at another, the result of a sale cannot be referred to in order to ascertain its intrinsic value. Pictures as often bring more than they are worth as less; so that a sale cannot with certainty determine their degree of merit. Indeed I think the merit of a picture can be determined only by the united general opinion of real critics.

But to return to the picture which is the subject of this letter. It was the fruit of more than two months labour. If it be thought I have overrated my production, those at least who know me can attribute it but to one cause alone—namely, an error of my judgment (to which artists as well as others are certainly liable:) for those who know me well know that I am above affixing to any work of mine a higher price than I conscienciously think just. However bad the picture might appear in the eyes of others, I certainly did not think it discreditable to me; for if I had thought it bad I would not have sold it. And if there are painters who proportion their prices *to as much as they think they can get*, I hold them unworthy of their profession. Though I have occasionally sold my pictures even for what I deemed to be scarcely half their value—in some cases because they were for particular friends,

and in others from the pressure of the moment; yet I have never in any one instance demanded a guinea more than seemed to the best of my judgment the just value of my labour. Both as a man of integrity and as a professor of a liberal art, I have always considered myself as "before my conscience" when I have valued my productions. If the price therefore of the picture in question be too high, it must be placed solely to an error of my judgment.

But setting the merits of the picture entirely out of the question, it would have been (with me) quite sufficient that the picture did not please you; upon that ground alone I would have taken it back had you written to me on the subject when you recieved it. Money alone is not [the] whole reward of an artist: it is but secondary to the satisfaction arising from the consciousness of giving pleasure to those who possess or see his works; and I would never deliberately accept the former where I knew it was unaccompanied by the latter. No: were I to paint a picture, by commission, for any nobleman here, and he should dislike it when finished (even though I thought it the happiest effort of my pencil) I would instantly release him from his engagement. Indeed, so far am I from wishing any person to retain a work of mine which he disapproved that I consider it a misfortune that any circumstances should have given birth to the case.

I am by no means offended that you do not like the picture. Every one has an undoubted right to his opinion; and I hope I am very far from wishing to control the sentiments of any one respecting my own works. I only lament that you did not give me a timely opportunity to remove the incumbrance.

I have made the foregoing remarks with no other view than mere justice to my integrity as a man. They are not intended to refer in any way either to the merits or demerits of the picture—indeed it would not become an artist to speak on these points of his own works; but they are intended simply to shew that in fixing the price I was not actuated by the love of gain, or any other unworthy motive. When an artist values his productions he is necessarily obliged to depend on his own judgement, the result of which he then submits; and it is their province to determine whether or not he rates his work according to its real merit. For the judgement of no artist concerning his own works ever does, or ever ought to regulate the public judgement respecting them. I therefore (as every artist ought to do) remain entirely neutral as to the degree of merit or demerit of the picture; expressing no opinion concerning it; and leaving those points for the decision of others. And since I find that it is the opinion of yourself and friends that the price at which I sold the landscape was above its merit—in order to remove from myself any imputation of unfairness, I am perfectly willing to comply with your wishes—namely, to send you "a small picture." I have nothing small by me at present but sketches. Had I a small finished picture that I thought worth sending it should accompany this; but, as I have not, I will paint one for you. My present engagements are of such a nature that they will not allow me to promise it in less than a year from this time. If it is in my power to do it sooner, it shall be done. Before I conclude, I repeat, and wish it to be distinctly understood, that I have neither the intention nor the wish to prove anything respecting the merits of the picture. Indeed, were I even so disposed, I should be wholly unable to form any opinion [of] it on account of the length of time since I have seen it, and the imperfect recollection I have of it. But I have no wish of the kind; my object being simply to state that I acted conscienciously according to the best of my judgement. That judgement must not

and ought not to weigh a straw with the public; for I know that artists, as well as others, may oftentimes (tho' honestly) err in appreciating their own works; and it is certainly possible that I also may have erred.

It is my wish in all things to be just; and where I may not myself be the proper judge, I willingly submit to the decision of others.

I have only to add that whatever I do shall be done with the most perfect good will.

A few months later Mr. Winthrop acknowledged the receipt of this letter; but when three or four years had elapsed and the promised work of art had not come in, he sent Mr. Allston a polite, albeit somewhat stern, reminder. To this the artist replied:

Boston, 23rd Nov. 1821.

Dear Sir,

I HAVE received your letter of the [blank] and though I think some expressions in it might well have been spared, yet from the general tenor of it, and particularly the conclusion, I am led to believe that it was not your intention to offend; I have therefore read it without any unfriendly feelings, and am willing to take it in good part.

Why I made the *Engagement* my first letter to you, from London, has already explained. I made it voluntarily: and having made it, I considered it as sacred—and as what was my religious intention to perform whenever my necessities would allow me. Although made so many years since, I have not, as you suppose, forgotten it; I feel it now, and have ever felt it to be as binding and sacred as then; nor was I capable, even for a moment, of entertaining a wish to elude it: on the contrary, it has been one of the sorest mortifications I could have experienced to have been thus compelled by pecuniary embarrasments so often to postpone its fulfilment.

In this, as in all other cases, the shortest and the best way is to state the plain truth. When I returned to America my finances were at so low an ebb, that, repugnant as it was to my inclinations, I was constrained to lay aside, and suspend the finishing of, a large picture I had begun and brought with me from England—to give up this picture on which rested my only hope of in some degree retrieving the competence I had sacrificed in the acquisition of my art—and to devote myself without delay to such smaller works as would provide for my immediate support. This was my only course for avoiding the misery of involving myself in debt. And I had hoped, and calculated, that one year devoted to these would supply me with funds sufficient not only for the finishing of Belshazzer (the large picture) but for the fulfilment of my engagement with you. On the strength of this hope I wrote you from this place, expressing my expectation to that effect. Had my calculation turned out correct, I should long before this have finished both Belshazzer and your picture. But so far from this was the event, that at the end of the year I found myself, in spite of œconomy, wholly unable to effect more than the mere paying of my expenses and keeping clear of debt. I have never found the sale of one picture more than sufficient to support me during the time afterwards occupied by the next. Thus have I been uniformly foiled in almost all my plans for years past—finding myself at the end of each but little better than at the beginning.

A year ago last September I recommenced Belshazzer, and by this autumn it would have been completed had not an exhausted purse again obliged me to give it up for six months. I have now a third time resumed it; and though the fruits of those six months are already diminished to less than an hundred and fifty dollars, I trust it is also the *last* time; for I have made up my mind rather to borrow money (which I must soon do) than thus fritter away my time for a bare subsistance. I can produce nothing approaching to excellence, large or small, without labour; my pictures therefore for the most part cost a length of time very disproportioned to the prices I have charged for them. But I cannot paint for mere profit, or leave a picture when I know that I can still improve it. Could I have done so, I might have been rich before this.

I am far from intending by any of these remarks to attach blame to any one; I could not with justice do it. And it is far, very far from my intention to cast even a shadow of blame on the inhabitants of this Town; on the contrary I shall always remember and acknowledge their kind and ever ready patronage with the warmest gratitude. The fault, if any, lies with myself, in not having charged more for my pictures. But I was led into this error by the apprehension that if I charged European prices I should find no purchasers. I have *now*, however, good reason for believing that this apprehension was unfounded; and that I shall hereafter find a ready sale for my works at double their present prices.

This statement of facts will shew you, Sir, how little it has been in my power to follow my inclinations, and consequently how little able I have been to fulfil my engagement with you. I must, however, in candour blame myself for not having made them (these facts) known to you before; for being a stranger to you, I had no right to suppose that you could know the motives which governed me.

I have now only to add that your picture is *begun*—and that I mean to proceed with it at the same time (that is, by intervals) with Belshazzer; and I hope to complete both in the course of the ensuing summer. I had begun another picture for you several months ago, but not being quite satisfied with the composition, I gave that up. With the composition of the present one I am pleased.

Although Washington Allston lived for more than twenty years after writing the last of these letters, he never found time to complete his "Belshazzar's Feast." How Mr. Winthrop came out is a question.

In his family, and among his intimate friends, Mr. Winthrop must have been a delightful person. According to his daughter Laura:

Francis Bayard Winthrop was a man of refined taste, a graduate of Yale College, and owned what was called, fifty years ago, a fine library, of about two thousand volumes selected by himself, besides a small collection of good pictures and engravings, in a time when such things were rare. He was an enthusiast in Art and Literature, and loved Music and the Theater. His children could see upon the walls Alston's Angel and Both's Sunshine, and browsed freely in the library, till books became their familiar friends. Their father was one of the first persons to recognize the genius of Hawthorne on reading his "Twice Told Tales," in the winter of 1839–40. These pictures and engravings from the old masters familiarized the children with forms of beauty, and an old-fashioned garden, with flowers and

lilac bushes and pear-trees, gave them a pleasant playground. But their happiest recollections linger round their woodland walks with their father. He was a man of delicate health—(delicate and fond of reading when a boy, when his brothers and sisters were romping and shooting arrows at the eyes of the old Governor's portraits), a lawyer [*sic*] who had retired from business in New York with reduced fortune, to live quietly at New Haven, and educate his children. Here he bought a roomy house in Wooster St., of the old-fashioned New England type, with four rooms on a floor, and a hall through the middle, and a garret (not an attic), with great oak beams overhead, cobwebs, dark corners, and a mysterious cock-loft. He was hospitable, and charming in his own family, to whom he was a true father (one of the rarest beings in the world), and not a man whom they saw, sleepy and harassed, once or twice a week. He had a wonderful croon that always put the babies to sleep, he danced quadrilles, sang songs, played games, told wonderful tales in the twilight, and took them for long walks in the woods. There were woods in those days not too far off. His health required these walks, and the children were usually his companions. They learned to love Nature; birds and wild flowers were their friends; they learned to know TREES, rare but necessary knowledge; they climbed the great precipitous bluffs of East and West Rock, which stand over against New Haven, like Arthur's Seat by Edinboro', and wandered along where the quiet stream of the Quinippiac winds among its hayricks. The hayricks stand there still—the crop has never failed. A rarer pleasure was a long drive, taking their mother with them, through the laurel lanes to some lovely lake among the hills, where they dined "on dainty chicken, snow-white bread," and spent a whole summer's day of delight. Thus the children found eyes, without looking through the spectacles of science, and knew perhaps almost as much about plants as Solomon, without effort of study. New Haven in those days was a quiet, lovely little town, scholarly and demure, under the lofty arch of whose elms strayed the college boys, studious or otherwise, the professor, stern of exterior, and the dreaming school girl. No sound of factories disturbed the silence, the railroad was not dreamed of, the steamboat had but lately begun to churn up the waters of the little bay. The town seemed asleep, save when the buzzing boys poured out of chapel or recitation.[9]

For a number of years Francis Bayard Winthrop was a vestryman of Trinity Church, New Haven.[10] He was also an honorary member of the Yale Chapter of Phi Beta Kappa. He is said to have lost "a large sum" when a New Haven bank, of which he was a director, failed.[11]

Mr. Winthrop died suddenly at New Haven on March 21, 1841, having just completed his fifty-fourth year. His widow died at West New Brighton, Staten Island, New York, on October 28, 1863.[12] A portrait of him, taken when he was a winsome young man, is reproduced in Ellery Kirke Taylor's *The Lion and the Hare*, chart L.

Children by his first wife:

Sarah Rogers, born August 28, 1810, died February 12, 1812.

EDWARD, born December 19, 1811, graduated from Yale in 1831, and died October 21, 1865. He was an Episcopal clergyman. See p. 366.

CHARLES ARCHIBALD, born January 25, 1813, married (1) Jeannette Bradley, (2) Mary Boyer, and (3) Mary C. Gray, but died without issue June 5, 1884. See p. 367.

Children by his second wife:

Theodore Woolsey, born October 31, 1816, died September 29, 1826; the church records give the date of his death as October 2.

Elizabeth Woolsey, born November 21, 1820, died unmarried November 10, 1907.

Francis Bayard, born December 27, 1822, died February 22, 1823.

Laura, born September 13, 1825, married William Templeton Johnson, of New York, June 10, 1846, had issue, and died in 1889. She wrote verse (*Poems of Twenty Years*, 1874) and excellent prose (*Eight Hundred Miles in an Ambulance*, 1889, and *The Life and Poems of Theodore Winthrop*, 1884). To her, N. P. Willis dedicated one of his loveliest poems: "To Laura W——, Two Years of Age."

THEODORE, born September 22, 1828, became an author, and was killed in action at Big Bethel, Virginia, June 10, 1861. See p. 368.

WILLIAM WOOLSEY, born August 3, 1831, graduated from Yale in 1851, and became an authority on Military Law. He married, July 26, 1877, Alice Worthington, but died without issue, April 9, 1899. See p. 378.

Sarah Chauncey, born November 28, 1833, died September 30, 1834; according to the *Vital Records of New Haven*, she died October 1.

Sarah Chauncey, born December 7, 1834, married, in 1861, Theodore Weston, A.B., Yale University, 1853, had issue, and died in 1864.

References

1. Franklin Bowditch Dexter, *Biographical Sketches of the Graduates of Yale College*, v. 730; James Swift Rogers, *James Rogers of New London, Ct., and his Descendants*, 159.

2. James Swift Rogers, *James Rogers*, 158.

3. Frances Manwaring Caulkins, *History of New London*, 91.

4. James Swift Rogers, *James Rogers*, 159, 242; Franklin Bowditch Dexter, *Biographical Sketches*, v. 730, 731; Josephine C. Frost, *Ancestors of Henry Rogers Winthrop and his Wife, Alice Woodward Babcock*, 14.

5. Walter Barrett, *The Old Merchants of New York City*, Second Series, 321; *New York Genealogical and Biographical Record*, IV. 149, 154; V. 14.

6. New York Historical Society *Collections*, III (1821), 13; Massachusetts Historical Society *Proceedings*, II. 19; Massachusetts Historical Society *Collections*, Third Series, v. 300.

7. Massachusetts Historical Society *Proceedings*, XVIII (1880–81), 66. See also the Introduction to volume 7A of the Winthrop Manuscripts (Massachusetts Historical Society).

8. These letters are preserved among the Dana Papers at the Massachusetts Historical Society.

9. Laura Winthrop Johnson, *The Life and Poems of Theodore Winthrop*, 6–8.
10. Franklin Bowditch Dexter, *Biographical Sketches*, v. 731.
11. Walter Barrett, *The Old Merchants of New York City*, Second Series, 384.
12. Franklin Bowditch Dexter, *Biographical Sketches*, v. 731.

WILLIAM HENRY[7] WINTHROP (*Francis Bayard*[6], *John Still*[5], *John*[4], *Wait Still*[3], *John*[2], *John*[1]), the elder son of Francis Bayard Winthrop and his second wife, Phebe (Taylor) Winthrop, was born in New York City on September 25, 1791. The William in his name reflects his father's affection for a bachelor brother, William, who made his home with the Francis Bayard Winthrops on Manhattan Island. As Henry is an unusual name in the family, presumably it came from the distaff side.

William prepared for college at New Haven, under the guidance of Henry Davis, formerly a Tutor at Yale and later President of Hamilton College. That William Winthrop should go to Yale was practically inevitable. His Grandfather Winthrop had graduated there in 1737, and his half brothers John Still Winthrop and Francis Bayard Winthrop had graduated in 1804. William entered the College in 1805 and received the degree of Bachelor of Arts in 1809, shortly before his eighteenth birthday.[1] In the Winthrop Manuscripts of the Massachusetts Historical Society our first glimpse of him occurs in the winter of 1814 when he was showing his first cousin James Bowdoin, of Boston, the sights of the city of New York. William was then twenty-two, and the relative from out of town nineteen. A year or two later his father set him up "in a small way of business"; in order to do so he sold at auction two houses that, he wrote his brother, "brought me a rent of $1000 per annum."[2] How this business succeeded we do not know; presumably not brilliantly, for soon after his father's death, which occurred in 1817, William turned his back on New York and retired to New London, Connecticut, where he married his first cousin, Margaret Ann Parkin. Her mother was his father's sister Mary Jane.

The William Henry Winthrops maintained a residence in New London, on the northeast corner of Huntington and Federal Streets, but spent much of the year on Fisher's Island.[3] The Island had been a family possession since 1640, when it was granted to John Winthrop, Jr., by the govern-

ment of Massachusetts-Bay. Upon the death of William's father, it had descended to the four sons; but William was the one who cared most for that item in the large estate, and he soon bought out the others' interests in it. As his tastes were simple and his income ample, he enjoyed living in the Mansion House and operating the farm on a very respectable scale; in 1838 he had a hundred cows, five yoke of oxen, one driving horse, twenty-five horses and colts, and twelve hundred sheep.[4]

Fisher's Island was—and, to a lesser degree, still is—a sort of Garden of Eden, a miniature, unspoiled Bermuda. Cooled in summer by breezes from any direction whatever, kept at a moderate temperature in winter by the surrounding waters, it had a climate that was almost ideal. Its situation, too, left little to be desired: ten miles southeast of New London, but only two or three miles from the mainland, it was sufficiently remote to give one the feeling of living in another world, yet actually near enough to make intercourse relatively easy. Every Wednesday, Mr. Winthrop sent his sloop, the *Arbella*, to New London or to Noank for mail and supplies. When the services of a physician were needed on the Island, a white flag was raised on one of the hills north of the Mansion House; then one watched with a telescope to discover whether the signal had produced the desired reaction over on the mainland. The beauty of the Island at any season of the year was undeniable: the surface was rolling; and besides woods and fields, pastures and shore, the Island included a number of lakes and ponds, fringed with tupelo trees and picturesque with herons on the wing or wading in the shallow waters. The total area was about three thousand acres.

There were a few houses in this paradise, the principal ones being the Mansion House (overlooking West Harbor), the East End House, and the White House. In 1843 Mr. Winthrop's son, William Henry, Jr., established himself in the somewhat severe East End House, and the continuity of Winthrop residence on the Island seemed assured for at least another generation. Though tranquillity was the dominant mood, life was not without occasional excitement or even tragedy. From early colonial days, Fisher's Island had been the scene of many a shipwreck. The greatest of these occurred on November 28, 1846, when the *Atlantic*, a new side-wheeler plying between New London and New York, crashed on a reef off North Hill and went to pieces in about seven minutes. The disaster occurred in the dark, about half-past four in the morning, with the wind blowing a gale from the northwest.

Many of the passengers who jumped or were thrown into the sea were dashed to death on the rocks.[5] Mr. William Henry Winthrop, who was on the Island at the time, took care of the survivors at the Mansion House, and had his men search the shore for the living and the dead. The bodies of the latter were carted in wagons to the barn of the Mansion House, where they were laid out to await identification. Forty-two persons lost their lives in this catastrophe.[6]

For over two hundred years every foot of Fisher's Island was held by one or more members of the Winthrop family; but after the wreck of the *Atlantic* the United States resolved to build a lighthouse on one of its outlying islets, and in 1847 Mr. Winthrop sold the North Dumpling to the government. In 1863 his five children sold the remainder of the property to Mr. Robert R. Fox, a retired manufacturer, of New York City.[7]

A photograph of William Henry Winthrop is reproduced in Henry L. Ferguson's *Fishers Island*, opposite page 66. At first glance one is inclined to exclaim, "What a homely man!" He was indeed homely; there is not even a hint of the good looks one is apt to expect in a Winthrop countenance. But it is an interesting face: the homeliness never wears off; but somehow familiarity changes the appearance of sourness into a look of determination, and the hard eye into a shrewd one. Mr. Winthrop was a good judge of values. In 1826 he inherited from his Uncle William Winthrop a large portion of the township of Huron, Ohio, which borders on Lake Erie near Sandusky. At one time Uncle William owned the entire township, and it is said that the place would have developed much more rapidly if he had not held the land at a high figure. After the old gentleman's death the nephew reduced the price, and sales and settlement showed a gratifying increase.[8]

In the Preface to volume 1 of *Winthrop Papers* one finds the following statement: "Francis Bayard Winthrop, Senior, died in New York in 1817. In the division of his estate, that major part of the family papers which he had kept in his own possession was assigned to his third son, William Henry Winthrop, who resided chiefly at New London. A recluse and valetudinarian, he became annoyed by repeated requests for permission to examine the manuscripts, and at last refused access to them even to members of his own family." The present writer is unable either to confirm or to refute this somewhat uncomplimentary assertion; it may well be that Mr. Winthrop was like that in his later years. The important thing is that after his death the manu-

scripts were acquired by his cousin Robert C. Winthrop, and in the course of time were given to the Massachusetts Historical Society.

Mr. Winthrop died in New London, Connecticut, on September 3, 1860; he was in his sixty-ninth year. His wife died in New London on February 27, 1863.[9]

Children:

William Henry, born May 8, 1819, married Mary Ellen Young (1817–1897), had issue, and died March 15, 1895. About 1875 he was sheriff of New London County.[10] See p. 380.

Thomas Parkin, born in 1820, married Augusta Van Dusen in 1853, and died without issue. At one time he lived in the East End House on Fisher's Island; later in New London.

Francis Bayard, "of New London," born in 1823, married Margaret Mercer in 1853, and died in 1863, "a victim to disease contracted while he was serving as a volunteer in the army of the American Union."[11] They had one daughter, Margaret, who died young. Mrs. Winthrop died in 1876.

John Taylor, died young.

Margaret Ann, died young.

Jane Parkin, born April 27, 1833, married George F. Chester, of Florida, in 1852.

Mary Taylor, born in 1836, married Dean Pratt in 1855, and died in 1914. She lived in Saybrook, Connecticut.

John Taylor, born in 1838, died in 1840.

References

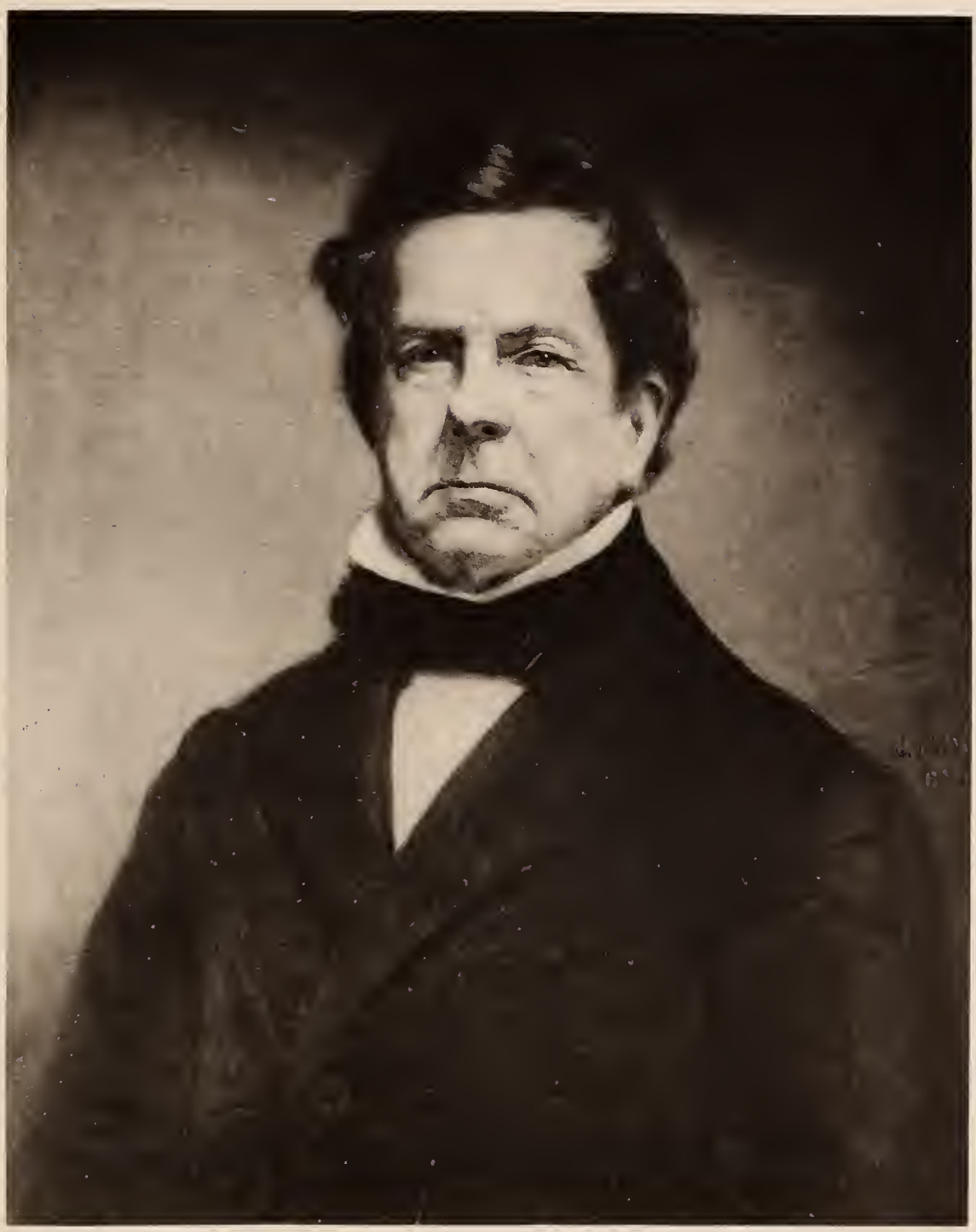
1. Franklin Bowditch Dexter, *Biographical Sketches of the Graduates of Yale College*, VI. 286.
2. Winthrop Manuscripts (Massachusetts Historical Society), 30A. 69.
3. *Records and Papers of the New London County Historical Society*, I, Part IV. 91.
4. Henry L. Ferguson, *Fishers Island*, 66.
5. Boston *Daily Evening Transcript*, November 28 and 30, 1846.
6. Henry L. Ferguson, *Fishers Island*, 89; Frances Manwaring Caulkins, *History of New London*, 651.
7. Henry L. Ferguson, *Fishers Island*, 67.
8. *The Fire Lands Pioneer*, IV (1883), 66.
9. Franklin Bowditch Dexter, *Biographical Sketches*, VI. 287.
10. *New London Directory for 1876–77*.
11. Robert C. Winthrop, *Life and Letters of John Winthrop*, I, Prefatory Note.

THOMAS CHARLES[7] WINTHROP (*Francis Bayard*[6], *John Still*[5], *John*[4], *Wait Still*[3], *John*[2], *John*[1]), the younger son of Francis Bayard Winthrop and his second wife, Phebe (Taylor) Winthrop, was born in New York City on June 13, 1797. In selecting a name for him, his parents followed a custom of the time, which was to honor two of the child's uncles, or aunts, as the case might be,—one on one side of the family and one on the other. In this instance, "Thomas" came from Mr. Winthrop's younger brother, Thomas Lindall Winthrop, of Boston; and "Charles" from Mrs. Winthrop's brother, Charles Taylor,—who, as it happened, was both the boy's uncle and the husband of his older half-sister Cornelia.[1]

Though born into more than comfortable circumstances, Charles, as the family called him, did not go to college. He did, however, have the broadening experience of a trip to England when he was about twenty years old. He sailed from New York for Liverpool in the spring of 1817;[2] from Liverpool he presumably went up to London. His Uncle Thomas, up in Boston, expressed the hope that Charles would keep a journal of his travels, but whether he did so is a question. The fact is, we know little about the young man until the autumn of 1823, when he married Georgiana Maria Kane, of New York. Miss Kane was a daughter of the late John Kane, Esq., a prominent New York merchant, and they were married on September 23, 1823.[3] Ten or twelve years later Mr. Winthrop was an established commission merchant, with an office at 220 Pearl Street and a residence at 29 Bond Street. In 1836–37 he lived at 25 Hubert Street, but before 1845 he had settled upon West Fourteenth Street as the part of town most to his liking in a rapidly changing New York. For about twenty-five years he resided at No. 119; for the last five years of his life (1868–73) his street number was 153. Down town his office moved from time to time, among the various addresses being 220 Pearl Street, 11 Platt Street, 18 Pine Street, 4 Cedar Street, and 25 William Street. About 1859 he retired from active business.

On the evening of Saturday, May 31, 1873, Thomas Charles Winthrop died suddenly; he was on the verge of being seventy-six years old. The funeral services were held on the following Thursday, June 5, at the Church of the Annunciation on West Fourteenth Street.[4]

A portrait by J. Irving, painted several years after Mr. Winthrop's death, is reproduced here; it is owned by Robert Winthrop, of New York.



Thomas Charles Winthrop

Children:

Charles Francis, born in New York, March 20, 1827, attended Yale College, 1841–43, became a lawyer in New York, and married in London, England, November 5, 1887, Gertrude C., daughter of Lawrence Waterbury, of New York; she was at that time a widow, Mrs. Johnston. Mr. Winthrop died without issue, in Paris, France, February 15, 1898.

Maria Antoinette, born May 29, 1830, married Henry Barclay Robinson, of New York, January 3, 1855, had issue, and died August 20, 1873.

Robert, born in New York, August 18, 1833, married Kate Wilson Taylor, youngest daughter of Moses Taylor, of New York, June 23, 1859, had issue, and died November 18, 1892. He was a prominent banker in New York, and founded the banking house of Robert Winthrop & Company. See p. 381.

Grenville, born February 19, 1837, married Elizabeth Van Schaick, daughter of William B. Oddie, of New York, June 11, 1861, had issue, and died in Pau, France, March 6, 1869. See p. 383.

Frederick, born August 3, 1839, attained the rank of Major General in the United States Army, and was killed at the battle of Five Forks, Virginia, April 1, 1865. He was unmarried. See p. 384.

Gertrude, born April 7, 1842, died unmarried in 1907.

Eugene, born June 7, 1844, died unmarried, in January, 1893. He was for many years a member of the banking firm of Drexel, Harjes and Company, of Paris, France.

Clarence, born August 9, 1848, died unmarried April 28, 1873. He died in New York, about a month before his father.[5]

References

1. John E. Stillwell, *Historical and Genealogical Miscellany*, v. 58.
2. Winthrop Manuscripts (Massachusetts Historical Society), 30a. 71.
3. James N. Arnold, *Vital Records of Rhode Island*, xx. 490.
4. *New York Times*, June 2, 1873.
5. *Ibid.*, April 30, 1873.

JOSEPH Augustus[7] Winthrop (*Joseph*[6], *John Still*[5], *John*[4], *Wait Still*[3], *John*[2], *John*[1]), the eldest son of Joseph and Mary (Fraser) Winthrop, was born on January 15, 1791, presumably at Charleston, South Carolina, where his Connecticut-born father was a prominent merchant. He married Maria Evelina, daughter of Thomas Parker, of South Carolina, on February 19, 1818. Mr. Winthrop was the senior member of the firm of Winthrop

and Son, factors, in Charleston, and resided on Tradd Street. In 1859 he was taxed on real estate valued at $10,000 and on two slaves.[1] Fairly early in the Civil War he wisely bought a house and lot in Anderson, which is near the northwest corner of South Carolina, whither he retreated with his family; presumably he was there when he died of typhoid fever on February 2, 1864.[2]

Children:

Mary Drayton, born February 28, 1819, died unmarried in 1902.

Susan, born July 6, 1820, married in 1850 William Logan Webb, planter, of Chatsworth Plantation, had issue, and died in 1897.

Augusta, born January 24, 1822, married November 4, 1841, James Ravenel, of Charleston, South Carolina, had issue, and died February 26, 1891.[3]

Francis, born June 6, 1832, became the junior member in the firm of Winthrop and Son, factors, in Charleston, South Carolina, married in 1855, Maria Drayton Parker, had issue, and died in 1909.[4] See p. 389.

Joseph, born June 6, 1832, became a physician, also a clerk in the office of the South Carolina Railway Company, married Catherine Louisa (Logue) Bateman, in 1892, and died without issue in 1911.

Caroline, born January 27, 1836, died unmarried in 1918.

References

1. *List of the Tax Payers of the City of Charleston, for 1859*, 374.
2. Winthrop Manuscripts (Massachusetts Historical Society), 35. 126.
3. *South Carolina Historical and Genealogical Magazine*, xliv (1943), 30.
4. *Ibid.*, iv (1903), 156. For his activities in 1866, see Winthrop Manuscripts (Massachusetts Historical Society), 35. 126.

HENRY[7] Winthrop (*Joseph*[6], *John Still*[5], *John*[4], *Wait Still*[3], *John*[2], *John*[1]), one of the younger sons of Joseph and Mary (Fraser) Winthrop, was born in Charleston, South Carolina, on January 15, 1803.[1] He became a physician; before the Civil War he must have been in very comfortable circumstances, for in 1859 he was taxed on real estate valued at $7,000, twenty slaves, one carriage, income of $1,000, one horse, and one dog—plus eight slaves held in trust.[2] The following excerpts from letters he wrote to Robert C. Winthrop indicate clearly that he was both a charming gentleman and an admirable loser:[3]

Anderson Court House
October 18, 1864

I HAVE been absent from Charleston since July last. Your favor of the 3rd ult. reached me at this place about ten days ago. I immediately wrote to a friend in Charleston requesting him to make enquiry if Lieut. Charles W. Amory and Major Forbes were still there, and if so, desired him to find them out and render whatever assistance they might stand in need of to promote their health and comfort. I received an answer from him last evening, stating that Lieut. Amory was better when he left for Boston on parole, about two weeks ago. Major Forbes had been sent to Columbia. These two officers had all their wants supplied previous to leaving the City. It is very probable the latter will soon be exchanged.

Charleston
February 5, 1866

YOU have acted wisely in marrying. I congratulate you on the occasion and wish you all the happiness you can possibly desire. I feel that it has been a great error in my life in not finding out until too late that "single blessedness" was a myth. As I am now 63 years old, it is not probable I will correct the error.

In answer to your enquiry about the family, my only sister Elizabeth is not in good health. She is now in Anderson Village, living with my brother Joseph's family. She went up there soon after the great fire in 1861. My brother fortunately purchased a house and lot there during the war and thus secured a home for his family. They have continued to reside there until now. We never thought that an army would ever pass through the place. The expense of living is much less there than in the City. The family (Mrs. Winthrop and her daughters Mary and Caroline) and my nephew Frank's family living with them, are all well when I last heard from them. My niece Mrs. Susan Webb is living in the same village and quite near them. Mrs. James Ravenel and family lived with her mother a part of the time during the war; she has returned to the City within the last fortnight.

My nephews, Dr. Joseph and Francis, are living with me in the City, endeavoring to maintain themselves; they have obtained temporary situations as bookkeepers.

Our circumstances have greatly changed in consequence of the war. We have all of us to study the strictest economy to live. My sister Mrs. Winthrop owns a life estate in the house formerly the residence of my uncle C. Fraser, who left it to my brother Joseph. It has been occupied by the military until within the past month. When rented, it will be about her only support. The most valuable papers of my brother's estate were lost in being carried from Columbia during General Sherman's march thro' our state. The family have but a faint hope of recovering them.

You wish to hear particularly of myself. I am in good health and trying to earn a support by resuming the practise of my profession. I see, however, but little prospect of success. I remained in the City until the shells fell next door to my house, and finding that part of the City deserted, I went up to Anderson, returning occasionally to the City. My house was struck by a shell and suffered some damage.

My sister and myself have lost heavily, not short of seventy thousand dollars. I do not consider our servants a loss to us. I part with them cheerfully and feel greatly

relieved of much care and responsibility in regard to them. I would not, if it were possible, receive them back to be in the same relation as before the war.

We still own the family residence in Tradd St., and what securities we have left to us, although paying no interest as yet, will, we hope, after a while become of some value and help to support us in living with strictest economy. All the family plate belonging to my sister and myself had been sent to Camden for safety, but it is all gone. My pictures which had been sent there also were scattered far and near. Two miniatures much prized, one of my father by C. Fraser and the other [of] Mr. David Sears by Malbone, were lost. A few of them have [been] collected and sent to me, some of them much valued as from the pencil of Mr. C. Fraser.

I was in Anderson when a part of Stoneman's force under General Brown entered the place on the 1 May. A party of three of the troops pillaged our house at night, taking all the watches, jewelry, and some pieces of plate belonging to the family. The same party returned the next day, 2nd May, demanded my watch and specie, which they insisted I had, and threatened to burn the house and hang me in case of refusal. The latter threat they proceeded to execute. Tying my hands, and with a cord around my neck hung me from the top rail of a bedstead. Afterward, thrusting the point of a sword against my chest, which however did not penetrate, snapped a pistol cap close at my ear and struck me on the head with the flat part of a shovel and dealt several blows on my head with their fists, so severe that I was knocked to the ground at each blow. No uncivil remark from me provoked this brutal outrage. I did not apply to Head Quarters for redress, my friends feeling satisfied none could be had. Three or four other persons in the Village suffered a like treatment.

Charleston
April 12, 1866

MANY thanks to you, my dear cousin, for your kind letter. . . . Your truly sincere and kind offer to aid in the relief of myself and of the family is fully appreciated by me, and I thank you for it most cordially. Should circumstances oblige me to ask assistance, I will not hesitate to let you know. I hope the worst is passed over and that I may, without calling on my friends for help, be able to maintain myself and sister.

I was fortunate enough to save such of my books as I valued most. The greater part of those that were lost was in consequence of the great fire in December, 1861. My office was then destroyed.

As regards the feeling of the people in this State, they unqualifiedly accept the issues of the war, and are ready to support the Union and the Constitution. From all that I have heard from my friends, none of them regret that slavery has been abolished, and would never consent to have it again restored. A kind feeling on the part of the late owners exists generally towards their freedmen. The latter are returning to work on the plantations either for wages or on shares. If the freedmen's bureau and Provost Marshals could be removed from among us, a still better feeling would exist.

The Radicals in Congress seem determined to prevent us from being represented in the National Councils, and are strong in their opposition to the President. What is their aim? If they were only half as zealous in endeavouring to bring about a restoration of good feeling in the South, it would be a blessed thing for the whole country.

Charleston, S. C.
December 27, 1871

MR. HENRY R. WINTHROP was here last April with his wife, and said there were then several Winthrops travelling in Europe, but don't recollect his mentioning your son's name among them.

In your former letter you very kindly enquired about our condition, and asked me to be frank with you. I may have conveyed the idea that the probable non-payment of int. on the State Debt would deprive me of comforts and embarrass me. I will feel the loss, but my income with that of my sister Elizabeth will be quite sufficient to support us both very comfortably without incurring debt. Pardon me for saying so much of myself, but I felt anxious least I may have produced an impression on your mind which I did not intend or wish.

Charleston
September 9, 1886

I RECEIVED your very kind letter yesterday. You have our cordial thanks for the liberal contribution by you and Mrs. Winthrop and her daughter towards the fund in Boston for the relief of those of our city who have suffered from the calamity of the terrible earthquake. There are many who will need the charity of the fund.

I scarcely know how to thank you for your generosity towards myself and household, but the damage done to my house is comparatively slight,—the loss of one chimney and a slight cracking of some of the walls; the outbuildings are injured, but to no great extent, so that I will not draw on you. I appreciate your great kindness and the affectionate interest you take in us. Thank God we are all safe, not having suffered from injury or exposure.

On Tuesday night, 31 ult., at the time of the great shock my niece Caroline and myself were alone at home. We were much alarmed and ran out immediately into the yard, where we remained during the night in the open air—my nephew Francis and his family joining us, his residence not being safe; and the day after my niece Augusta Ravenel came to stay with us, their residence being much injured. Augusta is still with us; her daughters have gone to be with friends. My nephew Francis and family went home yesterday, their residence having been somewhat repaired.

I have sent the Daily News to you two or three times. It will give you a better account of the condition of the City and ruins than I can. As far as I can see, looking from my house, there is scarcely a house which has escaped without loss of one or more of its chimneys.

Dr. Winthrop was a lifelong bachelor. He died on July 22, 1890, at the age of eighty-seven years, and was buried in St. Michael's Churchyard, Charleston.[4]

References

1. Clare Jervey, *Inscriptions on the Tablets and Gravestones in St. Michael's Church and Churchyard*, 299.

2. *List of the Taxpayers of the City of Charleston, for 1859*, 374.

3. Winthrop Manuscripts (Massachusetts Historical Society), 35. 121, 126–127, 158; 36. 42.
4. Clare Jervey, *Inscriptions*, 299.

THOMAS LINDALL[7] WINTHROP (*Thomas Lindall*[6], *John Still*[5], *John*[4], *Wait Still*[3], *John*[2], *John*[1]), the eldest son of Thomas Lindall and Elizabeth Bowdoin (Temple) Winthrop, was born on July 23, 1789, presumably in Boston, Massachusetts,—though his father was then a merchant in Charleston, South Carolina, and he may have been born there. Toward the end of 1790 his father returned to Boston; and when the boy was about eleven years old, he was sent to the Boston Public Latin School.[1] Three years later he was admitted to Harvard College, a fourteen-year-old Freshman in the Class of 1807. While an undergraduate he was elected a member of the Hasty Pudding Club, and his general behavior appears to have been fairly good until the final quarter of his Senior year; then he not only cut more classes than any other student in the College but was fined as well for absence from prayers ($1.62), for neglect of English composition (66¢) and for not copying a theme (33¢). What was the trouble?[2]

Evidently the trouble with Tom Winthrop was no ordinary end-of-Senior-year insouciance. There was something the matter with his mind, and this mental disorder was aggravated by his hopeless love for Miss Miriam Mason, one of the beautiful daughters of the Honorable Jonathan Mason of Boston. Among Miss Mason's other admirers was Winthrop's classmate, roommate, and first cousin, David Sears. Once or twice a year a few carefully selected Sophomores and Juniors declaimed before a committee of the Board of Overseers, and these performances, called Exhibitions, were open to the public. To one of these Miss Miriam Mason came, evidently as the guest of young David Sears. At the conclusion of the exercises, when Sears was descending the steps of Harvard Hall with her on his arm, they encountered Tom Winthrop. He had a short whip in his hand, and stepping forward he "plied it lustily over Sears's shoulders." Sears tried to ignore the attack, but the blows became so violent that bystanders interfered and took Winthrop away. A more or less contemporary account of this episode ends with these sentences: "It caused great excitement. Sears succeeded in marrying the girl, and Winthrop was deranged as long as he lived."[3]

Winthrop received his Bachelor's degree from Harvard with his class in 1807, and the degree of Master of Arts three years later. According to his nephew, Robert C. Winthrop, Jr., he and David Sears "entered upon the study of law together, becoming marked favorites in society."[4]

Apparently he did read law for about two years and then suffered a recurrence of his malady, precipitated perhaps by the marriage of David Sears and Miriam Mason in June, 1809. Quite wisely his father decided that his best hope of recovery lay in travel and an outdoor life. Accordingly he sent him off on horseback early in the summer of 1809, ostensibly to look over the family's holdings of land and timber in the District of Maine. Tom rode to the eastward as far as Bucksport, on the Penobscot, thence westerly to "Norridgewalk," and home *via* Wiscasset, Bath, and Brunswick.[5]

In the following autumn Tom set out on a much longer journey in quest of diversion and health. Leaving Boston toward the end of September, he rode through Hartford and Rye to New York City, where he found "lodgings at a very good boarding-house opposite the City Hotel." "Our house," he wrote to his father, "is at the corner between Broadway and Cedar Street. I am much pleased with the city; it is to me a perfect London." He found time, of course, to ride out to Turtle Bay (on the east side of Manhattan, near Forty-sixth Street), where his Uncle Francis had his suburban seat. From New York he went to Philadelphia; leaving Philadelphia on the eleventh of October, he arrived safely in Pittsburgh about seven days later. Although rainy weather made "the road over the mountains" very bad, he had no real mishap except that of leaving a bundle containing his books, toothbrush, and other paraphernalia at some point about fifty miles from Pittsburgh; however, he expected that it would catch up with him in the course of a few days. At Pittsburgh, he met Mr. Fulwar Skipwith, of Germantown,—a friend of his father's who had recently been the American Consul at Paris[6]—and "two other gentlemen," with whom he rode to Chillicothe, "the seat of Government in Ohio," and on to Lexington and Louisville, Kentucky. After tarrying at Louisville about a fortnight, he embarked on the Ohio River for New Orleans. As far as Fort Pickering (on the Mississippi, about four or five hundred miles above Natchez), he had "an exceedingly pleasant voyage, except a few cold nights"; but long before they reached New Orleans, early in February, 1810, he and his companions were "heartily tired" of their voyage.[7]

How Tom Winthrop got from New Orleans to Saratoga, New York, is a mystery; but in the following June he was at the latter resort, "for the benefit of the waters," as his father expressed it. There are indications that his mother joined him there, and that they returned to Boston together. Sometime between then and the middle of February, 1811, it was arranged that he should go to Europe with his kinsman George William Erving, whom President Madison had recently appointed a special minister to Denmark to adjust claims arising from Danish depredations on the commerce of the United States. Sailing from Newport, Rhode Island, about the middle of March, on the *John Adams*, he and Mr. Erving arrived at L'Orient toward the end of April after a "sufficiently disagreeable" crossing. The countryside between L'Orient and Paris delighted him; Paris itself he would have enjoyed more if he had been able to speak French less "barbarously" and if he had not been afflicted with toothache. On their way from Paris to Copenhagen, he and Mr. Erving passed rapidly through Chalons, Clermont, Verdun, Frankfurt-am-Main, Kassel, Göttingen, Hanover, and Hamburg. Abroad, as at home, Tom Winthrop was a true New Englander: "The road to Hamburg," he informed his father, "through what was formerly the Electorate of Hanover, is excessively sandy and unpleasant, resembling, as you approach Hamburg, the pine barrens between Plymouth and Falmouth." Of his travels here, and in America, he wrote intelligently and interestingly; he had an eye that was both observant and discerning.[8]

Winthrop reached Copenhagen about the first of June, 1811, and was "pretty well pleased with the city and its environs." In the next six months something happened that sent him back to the United States. Just what it was, we don't know; but towards the end of December he was in Philadelphia,—and very ill. A Mr. Davy, who appears to have been a friend of the family, provided for him as well as he could, and a very kind Quakeress became his nurse. When she suggested that she might get a man to watch during the nights, Tom entreated her to stay with him. He told her that when he was a little boy his mother got an old woman to take care of him, and added, "I am no more than a little boy now." As soon as the news of his arrival and illness reached Boston, his father hurried to Philadelphia, "travelled in all kinds of vehicles, over turnpike roads, rail fences, and cornfields," and reached Tom's bedside on the morning of January 12, 1812. Two hours

later the patient died,—"perfectly easy, with his eyes fixed upon his Father's."[9] He was twenty-two years old, and unmarried.

An obituary in the *Columbian Centinel* of January 22, 1812, tells us: "The deceased had lately returned from Europe. His remains, attended by a number of the most respectable inhabitants of the city, were on Monday last deposited in the Cemetery of Christ Church [in Philadelphia]. It would be injustice to the character of the deceased to suffer remembrance of his worth to pass unnoticed into the oblivion of the grave. Before he left the University at Cambridge, it was perceived that his devoted attention to his studies had seriously impaired his health; but his ardent and almost exclusive attachment to books precluded all opportunity of convalescence. His application continued long after his health had failed him; and his uncommon acquirements in literature and science were more than equivalent to him for the loss of this inestimable blessing. His amiable disposition and extremely placable temper endeared him to all who knew him and were able to appreciate the worth of such endowments. His last words were expressions of gratitude; and his last hopes, the brightest of immortal man."

Few can read Tom Winthrop's letters to his father without emotion. He adored his parents, and they loved him dearly. He seems to have been handicapped not only by ill health but also by poor eyesight, which may have been a phase of his malady. This accounts, perhaps, for his proclivity for losing various articles while on his travels,—a pen-knife here, and a bundle there. From Philadelphia he wrote, "In the cities of New York and Philadelphia I am often at a loss from deficiency of my sight."[10] Apparently no one knew how to correct his vision. When in Maine he mentioned the "good supply of books" at the house where he was staying, "some of them better than I could easily procure in Boston"; and he added, "However, Sir, I pass more time in riding and bowling, at which I am somewhat expert, than in reading."[11] That, presumably, was exactly what his parents hoped he would do. But a few months later, when he was on his way from Philadelphia to Pittsburgh, he was distressed because he had grown "negligent in reading" for fear of straining or injuring his eyes, and because—for the same reason —he was unable to study the "productions of the earth," which we assume to have been the mineral deposits of that region.

Underlying everything he did or tried to do was a deep-seated lack of self-confidence, a chronic fear that what he had done was not done well; he

was even afraid that his letters to his father, which are intensely interesting and written in an excellent literary style, were either so long as to be wearisome or so brief as to be inadequate. Today he might be called a perfectionist; as the present writer sees it, he was the victim of an exaggerated New England conscience.

Tom Winthrop's nature, like that of most of the Winthrops, was strongly affectionate; yet probably few outside of the family circle could have guessed that this was the case. Diffidence made him reserved, and sometimes sensitiveness made him suspect that others were laughing at him.[12] His mother, a wise and understanding person, tried to help him to overcome this manner and the traits that were responsible for it; but presumably without much success. Her words of advice are significant because they let us see how this gentle, fine-grained, high-strung member of the family probably appeared to many of his contemporaries. "No young man," she wrote, "can be more eligibly situated than you are with our friend Mr. Erving, and I hope you will not fail to follow his advice and study to please him; an attention to his cheerfulness and ease of manners, together with the society you are in at Paris, etc., will, I doubt not, give you more confidence in yourself, and induce you to throw by that undue distance and reserve which you carried with you from America; and above all, my dear Tom, as one of the greatest sources of happiness, encourage warm feelings of friendship; you will always find some kindred soul that you may be candid and open with; our pleasures can hardly be called such without communication, and our uneasinesses are vastly lessened by depositing them in some faithful bosom; pride is sometimes the cause of coldness and reserve; we do not like to discover that we have weaknesses; we may as well, however, acknowledge them, for the world will not credit that we are exempted from the common lot, and pretensions to superiority can only produce dislike."[13]

References

1. Henry F. Jenks, *Catalogue of the Boston Public Latin School*, 136.
2. Harvard College Faculty Records (MS.), VII. 289; VIII. 88. These are in the Harvard University Archives.
3. Sibley's "Manuscript Collections," II. 599; in the Harvard University Archives.
4. Massachusetts Historical Society *Proceedings*, Second Series, II. 409.
5. Winthrop Manuscripts (Massachusetts Historical Society), 30A. 41.

6. Winthrop Papers (Boston Public Library), II. 48.
7. For his own account of his travels, see Winthrop Manuscripts (Massachusetts Historical Society), 30A. 43–47.
8. Winthrop Manuscripts (Massachusetts Historical Society), 30A. 49–55.
9. *Ibid.*, 30A. 54, 59, 60, 61.
10. *Ibid.*, 30A. 42.
11. *Ibid.*, 30A. 40.
12. *Ibid.*, 30A. 51.
13. *Ibid.*, 30A. 54.

JAMES BOWDOIN[7] WINTHROP (*Thomas Lindall*[6], *John Still*[5], *John*[4], *Wait Still*[3], *John*[2], *John*[1]), the second son of Thomas Lindall and Elizabeth Bowdoin (Temple) Winthrop, was born in Boston, Massachusetts, on July 23, 1794. Of his early education we have his own account in a letter he wrote at the age of twelve to his great-uncle James Bowdoin, for whom he was named; although Uncle Bowdoin was the American minister to Spain, he was then in Paris, accompanied by Mrs. Bowdoin and James's older sister Sarah:[1]

Boston Decer 2*d* 1806

MY DEAR UNCLE

I HAVE long intended doing myself the honor of writing to you, and nothing but being obliged closely to attend my schools can be an apology for deferring it to this period, more particularly since your kind present of Books; be assured my dear Sir, that I am grateful for this your kind attention; as well as for the many others which I have received from you, and my dear Aunt,—I hope to make good use of the Books. I am now studying Selectae e profanis, and the Greek Testament, at the Latin School, and I also attend a private School for Arithmetic, Writing, and Geography; I long very much to see you, my dear Aunt, and Sister, and when I pass the house in Beacon Street the good Apple pudding, pears, cake, etc., etc., together with the many marks of kindness and happy hours I have passed there, makes me sigh and think of the great Atlantic ocean which separates us; this Sir, is my first attempt at letter writing. You will therefore be so good as to excuse all defects, and to believe me with respectful affection to my dear Aunt and Sister

Your dutiful, affectionate and grateful nephew

JAMES BOWDOIN WINTHROP

In the summer of 1808, after the Bowdoins had returned to this country, he visited them at their summer home on Naushon Island, off the south coast of Massachusetts, and came home "much pleased with his excursion." On Independence Day in 1809 he was able to repay his uncle and aunt for some

of their many deeds of kindness by standing guard near the Bowdoin mansion on Beacon Street; his mother wrote Mrs. Bowdoin, "We had a great parade and a great show of Fire Works on the 4th, he and John took their stations by your House, to see that no accident happened till ten o'clock."[2] The house was on the site of the present Hotel Bellevue.

Two years earlier, in 1807, James had been admitted to Phillips Academy at Andover, where he was joined by his brother John in 1809. In the summer of 1810 he had occasion to mention in one of his admirably correct letters to his father: "Our Examination and Exhibition are to be in 3 weeks from last Tuesday and both John and myself have to speak on the latter occasion and I hope to have the pleasure of seeing you and my dear Mother both come up here. We shall both be very much obliged to you if you will let us have a thick coat and white trousers. I have a pair of trousers (which will do very well for me) at home, but I am not sure what will be our dress. When I have found out, I will let you know and (if you are willing) will send down our black coats for measures. I will thank you to send me up the play of 'Richard 3rd or the Battle of Bosworth Field' 'improved by Colman for the Stage' (I believe) as soon as possible."[3]

From Andover James went to Bowdoin College, in Brunswick, Maine. Founded in 1794, it was still a very small institution when he entered it in 1810; but it had a generous patron in his uncle James Bowdoin. When it was incorporated, it was understood among the trustees that it would be named in honor of Mr. Bowdoin's father, the late Governor Bowdoin; when this was done, the younger Bowdoin made large gifts of land and money to the college. Young Winthrop's inclination to go there, instead of to Harvard, probably sprang either from the fact that he was named for James Bowdoin or from a desire to please his opulent uncle whose full name was part of his own.

In 1810 the president of the college was Jesse Appleton and the entering class contained only about fifteen boys. James must have done well, as a student, for he had a good mind and was diligent; his chief handicap was uncertain health. When he was at home during vacation in January, 1812, his mother wrote that he showed "some symtoms of Jaundice, and much of the Hypocondria."[4] Anyone who has had the former malady can easily understand its being accompanied by the latter; in James's case the hypochondriacal tendencies were doubtless intensified by the knowledge that his older brother, Tom, then lay dying in Philadelphia and that his father was hurry-

ing to his bedside. A seventeen-year-old boy of his sensitive nature could hardly react in any other way.

In 1813 James Bowdoin Winthrop legally dropped the Winthrop from his name, and became simply James Bowdoin.[5] The reason for his doing so is to be found in the terms of the will of his great-uncle Bowdoin, who died at Naushon in the autumn of 1811. Conditionally upon his changing his name to James Bowdoin, Mr. Bowdoin bequeathed to him a life interest in a large tract of land, with the buildings thereon, in Bowdoinham in the District of Maine, and made him one of the two residuary legatees.[6] The change of name was authorized by the Legislature in June, 1813; consequently, when the subject of this sketch graduated from Bowdoin College in the following summer, he was, of course, known as James Bowdoin and received his degree under that misleading appellation. His father and mother attended the Commencement exercises.[7]

Although the Bowdoin legacy made it possible for James to follow his tastes and interests without earning, he read law with the Honorable William Prescott, father of the future historian, and in the course of time he may have begun to practise.[8] Presumably he did not keep his nose very close to the professional grindstone, for in the winter of 1819—when he had been out of Bowdoin more than four years—he wrote to his college friend, Bellamy Storer: "How goes the law with you? To me it is not worth much. But I do not feel at all disheartened, firmly persuaded as I am that it is far better to lay a solid foundation before entering actively into practice."[9] His heart was elsewhere than in the law,—in history, literature, and science,—and it was not long before he gave all his attention to the pursuit of those absorbing subjects. He was a very quiet young man,—*so* quiet, apparently, that he escaped the notice of the compilers of the *Boston Directory* until he was more than thirty years old! Perhaps they were bewildered by his change of name and decided that it was safer to leave him out altogether. Yet all this time—some ten or twelve years—he seems to have been living at his father's house on Hamilton Place and later at the corner of Beacon and Walnut Streets, going in and out, minding his own business, and succeeding in keeping out of the public eye.

In the summer of 1818 James accompanied his younger brother Francis William to Maine, where they spent two months in the hope that the change would benefit Francis William's health; and in the following autumn there

was talk of James's going with him to Darien, Georgia, for the winter. Both young men had good minds and similar interests; and they were congenial. But physically James was too slender a reed for his sick brother to lean on, and the southern trip and its duties were turned over to their more rugged brother John. In a letter dated December 1, his mother remarked that he had been "quite an invalid" and was then absent on a short journey on horseback to Portsmouth.[10] Horseback riding was too often the prescription for whatever ailed one, and must have been about as wrong as anything could be in tubercular cases.

In the preceding spring James went to New York and returned by the way of New Haven, where, according to his father, he intended "to visit the College Library, minerals, etc.; from thence to New London and spend a day; thence to Providence, and home." This was not his first trip to New York. During the winter vacation of his Senior year at Bowdoin (1813–14) he had ridden across Massachusetts and over the Hudson to Albany in order to pay his respects to Aunt Dearborn, formerly Aunt Bowdoin. Since Uncle Bowdoin's death in 1811 she had remarried and was now the wife of General Henry Dearborn, whose headquarters were at Greenbush, New York, on the east bank of the river. Although his letter to his father begins, "I arrived here on Saturday evening last after a very cold and unpleasant ride, being sick most of the way," a little farther down the page we find, "I attended the theatre on Saturday night last about ten minutes after I arrived here!" In spite of there being a war on, Albany was a very gay place in January, 1814, too gay for James Bowdoin's taxed physique. "Mrs. Dearborn," he wrote, "appears pleasantly situated. They have a good many invitations to parties in Albany. I shall go to but few. There are two balls this week, on Wednesday and Thursday. I may attend one of them." From Albany he rode on to New York. "I have a very bad cold," he added, "and great dizziness in my head, which will very much lessen my enjoyment on the journey." But he was young, and on February 2 he arrived in New York "in perfect health"; on the following day he was "out seeing the City" with his Manhattan cousin William Henry Winthrop.[11]

James developed into a considerable traveler. In the summer of 1819, when he was twenty-five years old, he went *via* Albany to Saratoga Springs, a place he detested, and thence to Schenectady, Utica, Geneva, Canandaigua and Buffalo. From Saratoga on, his companions were Commodore Bain-

bridge, a Mr. Rogers, and a Mr. Palfrey (presumably John Gorham Palfrey, the future historian of New England). His letters to his father, written along the way, are very interesting and show that he was both observant and appreciative in spite of too frequent headaches. He was charmed especially by the Mohawk Valley. After viewing "the falls of Niagara," Bowdoin and his party invaded Canada to the extent of visiting "Newark, a very pretty town, garrisoned by about 500 British troops, who desert in great numbers daily," crossed Lake Ontario to Sackett's Harbor, the scene of two conflicts in the recent War of 1812, and continued on their way to Montreal and Quebec *via* Kingston, Prescott, and Ogdensburg. A headwind discouraged their boatmen from attempting to descend the Côteau Rapids, and the travelers were obliged to make the final stage of their jaunt to Montreal in "carts and caleches."[12]

Probably the most memorable of James Bowdoin's travels was his trip to Washington, D. C., in February and March, 1820. Advised by Daniel Webster that the debates concerning the Missouri Compromise were likely to be well worth hearing, he got ready in two days, and accompanied Mr. Webster and Judge Story to the national capital. Unfortunately we have no letters from Mr. Bowdoin describing what he saw and heard on Capitol Hill. On March 17 his mother wrote: "James was very well at Washington on the 11th. He will soon return with Judge Story; he has been at the Capital at a very interesting period,—more interesting than honorable to our country." A few days earlier his father had written, "My son James visited Washington at a most interesting period; Mr. King [Rufus King] of the Senate seems to have borne off the palm with great reputation for himself; his speeches are spoken of as being extremely eloquent, and replete with sentiments which do honour to the head and to the heart."[13]

About the time when James Bowdoin graduated from college, the scholarly and somewhat formidable James Savage began work on a new edition of Governor John Winthrop's Journal or "History of New England." Mr. Savage, a gentleman of wealth and position, was a tremendous worker; he needed to be, for the task he had set himself was prodigious. Winthrop's handwriting alone was enough to discourage any ordinary mortal; and in Savage's time it was not so easy as it is today to find biographical data for footnotes about the many individuals mentioned in the text. However, nothing daunted James Savage; armed with assurance, wit, and an extraordinary

knowledge of early Massachusetts history, he set out to produce a first-class edition of the Journal. As far as the title page is concerned, Mr. Savage was the sole editor; even the copyright was made out to him. This was rather remarkable, because the invaluable manuscript of the Journal belonged to the Massachusetts Historical Society. Apparently Mr. Savage preferred to have an entirely free hand, and was given it. His dominating personality plus his recognized erudition carried the day. But, according to Robert C. Winthrop, Jr., he was not unassisted; behind the scenes he associated with himself young James Bowdoin, and he soon perceived that he had chosen the right man.[14] In the Preface to volume 1, which was published in 1825, the editor acknowledged: "There is, however, one gentleman to whom my readers will feel so much indebted, that to withhold his name would be a greater affectation than to publish it. My friend, James Bowdoin, Esq. procured for me most of the articles in the Appendix, especially the family letters, received from his cousin, Francis B. Winthrop, Esq. of New Haven, which will, no doubt, be thought the most valuable appendage to the History of their great ancestor." A letter written soon after his associate's death, which occurred a few years later, suggests that the aid Savage received from Bowdoin was indeed considerable. "I am too far advanced in life," he wrote, "to anticipate the opportunity of ever forming so close an intimacy with any other gentleman. Our constant daily intercourse for so many years, and the congeniality of our studies and pursuits were more known to you than to most others; and though my gratification in the continuance of all is diminished to such a degree that some will be abandoned, the pursuit of duties shall not for this loss be discontinued, but encouraged by his example."[15] To receive such a tribute from James Savage, James Bowdoin must have been more than just a liaison officer between the editor of the Journal and Mr. Winthrop of New Haven, who possessed interesting Winthrop papers that could be put in an Appendix.

The Massachusetts Historical Society was the first organization of its kind to recognize Mr. Bowdoin's ability and accomplishments. In August, 1821, and at the age of twenty-seven years, he was elected a resident member. The American Antiquarian Society followed suit in October, 1822; and in the spring of 1825 the American Academy of Arts and Sciences, of which his great-grandfather, Governor James Bowdoin, was the first president, welcomed him into its company of scholars and scientists.

After the first volume of Savage's edition of Winthrop's *History of New England* came out, Mr. Bowdoin's progress as a member of the Historical Society was notable. In 1826 he was placed on the Standing Committee, and was re-elected to it each year as long as he lived; in the autumn of 1832 he succeeded Dr. William Jenks as Librarian; and when the Society proposed to move its quarters to a building then being erected on Tremont Street, he donated $300 toward the purchase of an interest in the new edifice.[16] Two or three years earlier he dipped into his own pocket to pay for some lithographic plates used in connection with the publication of volume II of the Third Series of the Society's *Collections*. On the purely scholarly side his chief contribution was a report on some "manuscript Journals of the Long and some other Parliaments" which he had examined in the library of the New York Historical Society in June, 1829. This report, which took the form of a letter addressed to "Dear Savage," may be found toward the end of volume II of the Third Series of the *Collections*; it is a good example of Mr. Bowdoin's thoroughness and intensity as a student of historical material. Another specimen of his work appears in some Winthrop papers that he edited with characteristic care for inclusion in volumes IX and X of the same Series. As early as 1823 the American Antiquarian Society elected him a minor officer (Assistant Recording Secretary), and in 1831 promoted him to a place on the Council.

Among James Savage's many and varied interests the public school system of Boston was not the least. It was he who led—drove is the more appropriate word, perhaps—the town to establish primary schools, and presumably it was he who persuaded Thomas Lindall Winthrop to be chairman of the committee to administer this innovation while it was in the experimental stage.[17] Presumably, too, it was he who, having discovered the ability and worth of James Bowdoin, prevailed upon this retiring young man to be a candidate for the School Committee in 1827. What James Savage wanted he usually got. So it came to pass that Mr. Bowdoin entered politics. After two years on the School Committee he was elected to the Legislature, where he served his fellow-citizens until his health broke in 1832. In that year he was both an Alderman and a Representative in the General Court.

About 1825 James Bowdoin succeeded Mr. Savage as Secretary of the Provident Institution for Savings. This, the first savings bank in New England, was another of Savage's good works, and there can be little doubt that

he was instrumental in bringing Bowdoin into the administration of his philanthropic establishment. He was also one of the Managers (directors) of the Boston Asylum for Indigent Boys, a highly commendable charity "to afford protection and support to destitute male orphans, and boys whose parents are unable to support them, and who would otherwise, not only be subject to the evils of poverty, but remain exposed to scenes of depravity and vice."[18] In Bowdoin's time its building and grounds were on the corner of Salem and Charter Streets; since then the "Asylum" has developed into the well-known Farm and Trades School which we associate with Thompson's Island in Boston Harbor.

If James Bowdoin had a weakness, it was for collecting academic degrees. After receiving his Bachelor's degree from Bowdoin College in 1814, he very naturally annexed its customary sequel, that of Master of Arts, in 1817; but both he and his much younger brother George seem to have enjoyed picking up what we should call "unearned" degrees from various respectable institutions of learning. This was possible as late as the first third of the nineteenth century; these courtesy degrees admitted the applicant to the same standing (*ad eundem gradum*) at Harvard, Yale, Bowdoin, or wherever they were granted, as that which he had attained at his bona fide *alma mater*. As Bowdoin College was at that time a very small institution and little known beyond the limits of Maine, perhaps it was only good judgment that led James Bowdoin to obtain recognition from Harvard and Yale. At any rate, Harvard gave him its degree of Master of Arts in 1818, and Yale did likewise in 1826; thus he became a sort of stepson of the oldest two universities in the United States. In 1827 Bowdoin honored him and itself by electing him to its Board of Overseers; he remained on the Board until 1831.

In the autumn of 1832 Mr. Bowdoin's health broke down very definitely. He had pulmonary tuberculosis, and probably had had it for some time. He was advised to spend the following winter in Cuba, and before long he sailed for Havana. As he might need a good deal of care, he was accompanied by two attendants,—one of them being a young man named Henry Tuck, who was said to have some knowledge of medicine. Perhaps he possessed that, but he had no knowledge of how a sick person *feels*. For James Bowdoin it was a disastrous arrangement; he would have been much better off if he had just stayed in bed in his father's comfortable house in Boston. Excerpts from a

letter he wrote in January, 1833, soon after reaching Havana, tell the painful story:[19]

I arrived here the 3[d] inst.—after as *horrible* a passage as my imagination could depict. This arose not from the loss of our masts and dangers from the spars and sea, but from [the] infamous conduct of *Ben. Gorham, Esq.*, whose cruelty enabled him to place a crazy son on board without notice to anyone—even the person in whose charge he placed [him]. Were he to have served a sick friend of mine in this way, I would see him well *horse whipt* in State Street. I have never undergone as much pain in any 16 days of my life, and shall hardly recover from its effects. I wish Ben. G. could in some way be made ashamed of himself. His son was in irons a part of the time, tho' the Capt. was a *most remarkably* kind, forbearing man, and was in great danger of mutiny on board his ship by this fellow's conduct.

I am exceedingly feeble and almost unable to sit up: but I contrive to keep dressed 12 hours a day. I ride 2 or 3 miles daily also, and see in the way of beautiful trees and shrubs what would gladden the eye of one else than one rapidly gliding into his grave. I suffer from a severe and almost constant cough and a sort [of] horrid feeling over my whole system that I cannot describe. My pulse are usually above 100, as Dr. T. tells me, which must burn me up.

I am very unfortunate, as I expected to be, in Mr. T. He seems a clever *boy* eno', but a very ignorant one (except possibly on *some* medical matters) for 16 years old.* He is no companion for me, of course. He has never seen anything of the world, and of course makes one uncomfortable by his boorishness. He *prates of conscience*, which Dr. Gardiner thought a very bad symptom and has ended on the present occasion in his omitting all the kindnesses for which I took him. He is honest, and in a humble way, or possibly as a Dr., may do something. He bro't with him a diploma from *Exeter Academy* in a tin case—a stilish cloak—a fashionable whalebone little stick. . . . He appears honest and sharp eno'—has no notion of the comforts of the sick—nor of the value of *my* money. He is exactly such a man as if I could avoid I would with perfect good humor. I see him about twice a day, when he feels my pulse and looks at my tongue. I speak with more asperity than I should, but I have been suffering now 3 days sadly, and thrown so far back as to be carried up and down stairs, by means of his unfeeling project of taking me to the top of a house! and this without noting how many stairs, nor how bad they were, nor that I should be obliged to pass thro' a smoke house. I am in consequence as sick as I can well be: nor shall I, *if at all*, soon recover my breath and reduce my cough.

Mr. Shaler has been very attentive and is like to prove extremely useful to me in making me acquainted with some men of sense. With the exception of [name illegible] who has been very attentive—calling almost daily—all my letters have ended in mere formal calls.

Mr. Brimmer has been exceeding kind and attentive. He lives 2 miles out of the City and has invited me, when strong eno', to visit him. He calls daily. All his sisters are well; he bears his loss well.

Bishop [Mr. Bowdoin's servant] is well, and has in general behaved so—in some

* Tuck was not so young in years as this might suggest; he was in his thirties, having been admitted to Phillips Exeter Academy in 1827 at the age of *twenty-nine. General Catalogue of the Officers and Students of the Phillips Exeter Academy*, p. 37.

cases remarkably well, and vice versa; but he ought to have known how to read and write and keep my accounts; besides he is ignorant, and has no more curiosity than Mr. Tuck.

Remember me to Dr. Hale, Mr. Savage, Mr. Merrill—and of course to my brothers and sisters. I am glad Robert has an heir. . . . .

P.S. [Dated eleven days later] What with listlessness, etc., my letter is detained till now. I have decided that I lost ground since Tuck's march to the top of the house. I have very serious doubts of the consequences. T. will probably tell a different story,—but as a comment on his story, which he means for accurate, I will merely say that tho' he at my request gives me medicine for perspiration, he asked me if I had night sweats, etc. He must have been very attentive. My good Sir. The unremitted kindness, the performance of labours (rubbing, etc.), the attention to my mental etc. state by Dr. Hale have left me deploring that I am [to] die here; with an icicle for my pillow. Pray say nothing of these matters—but bear in mind the impudence of the boy with which he demanded at the last pinch a salary which, including his expenses, will amount to more than that of our Governor.

Mr. Shaler continues very attentive; otherwise with other people.

I am lodged 30 feet from the ground, which I cannot reach without a pistareen. My room is full 20 feet high. There is not a square of glass in it, and the windows must [be] 16 feet high. I have no companions whatever here. . . .

The entire change in my prospects leaves me in doubt what will become of me or mine. Should I die here, my remains will be forwarded for the Bowdoin Tomb. My feelings, for some days back, have been those of regret that I did [not] end life in my bed. It is a serious matter to die,—but to die without a friend at hand—or even a person who can read a chapter in the Bible feelingly, or understandingly (and *entre nous* Mr. Tuck attempted this once for me and read so badly and made so many mistakes in uncommon words of the *Psalms* that he never has offered a second essay)—and without any friend to direct one's thoughts at such a moment —makes death most formidable. May it never be your fate: and may we be supported by a kind Providence as well at the trying [?] hour as during the painful hours of preparation.

How would Mr. Shaler do as a member of our Hist. Soc? He could send much that is valuable regarding this Island—so important to the U.S.

24 January. Pray let a handsome present be made to Dr. Hale. His kindness recurs hourly to my mind.

James Bowdoin died at Havana on the morning of March 6, 1833, a little after midnight;[20] he was thirty-eight years old and unmarried. About thirty years later his brother Robert C. Winthrop described him modestly as "a diligent historical and antiquarian student,"—which he was; but to his contemporaries he was much more than that. The following extract from a very brief Memoir written by a fellow member of the Massachusetts Historical Society will give the reader a better conception of the place he held in the hearts, as well as in the minds, of those who knew him personally and worked with him: "Mr. Bowdoin died at the age of thirty-eight years; but he had

accumulated stores of learning which would have done credit to a long life; and he will be remembered by many friends as a scholar, a Christian, and a philanthropist."[21]

Miss Clara Bowdoin Winthrop, of West Manchester, Massachusetts, owns a portrait of James Bowdoin, who was her great-uncle. It is a miniature in oil, painted by Charles Fraser about 1825. The subject is shown in a blue-black coat and waist-coat, white collar and neckcloth, against a sky background.[22]

References

1. Winthrop Manuscripts (Massachusetts Historical Society), 30A. 25.
2. *Ibid.*, 30A. 37, 38, 40.
3. *Ibid.*, 30A. 48.
4. *Ibid.*, 30A. 58.
5. *Private and Special Statutes of Massachusetts*, IV. 504.
6. There is a copy of the will in the Winthrop Manuscripts (Massachusetts Historical Society), 29B. It is printed in Temple Prime, *Some Account of the Bowdoin Family* (second edition, 1894), 21–27.
7. Winthrop Manuscripts (Massachusetts Historical Society), 30A. 63.
8. Massachusetts Historical Society *Collections*, Third Series, IX. 224.
9. Winthrop Manuscripts (Massachusetts Historical Society), 30A. 73.
10. *Ibid.*, 30A. 72.
11. *Ibid.*, 30A. 71, 62.
12. *Ibid.*, 30A. 78, 82.
13. *Ibid.*, 30A. 83, 84.
14. Massachusetts Historical Society *Proceedings*, Second Series, XII. 297.
15. Winthrop Manuscripts (Massachusetts Historical Society), 30A. 105.
16. Massachusetts Historical Society *Proceedings*, I. 465*n*.
17. J. M. Wightman, *Annals of the Boston Primary School Committee*, 29–34.
18. *An Account of the Boston Asylum for Indigent Boys* (1832), 3.
19. Winthrop Manuscripts (Massachusetts Historical Society), 30A. 102.
20. Massachusetts Historical Society *Collections*, Third Series, IX. 225; Winthrop Manuscripts (Massachusetts Historical Society), 30A. 102.
21. Massachusetts Historical Society *Collections*, Third Series, IX. 225.
22. *American Portraits, 1620–1825, Found in Massachusetts*, I. 45.

JOHN TEMPLE[7] WINTHROP (*Thomas Lindall*[6], *John Still*[5], *John*[4], *Wait Still*[3], *John*[2], *John*[1]), the third son of Thomas Lindall and Elizabeth

Bowdoin (Temple) Winthrop, was born in Boston, Massachusetts, on May 14, 1796. Obviously he was named for his maternal grandfather, Sir John Temple,—first of Boston, then of England, and finally of New York, where he was the Consul General of Great Britain in the United States soon after the Revolution. Sir John may have been a little too English for the Americans, and a little too American for British taste, but he was a warm-hearted man and much beloved in the family circle.[1]

Young John Winthrop appears to have attended the Boston Latin School for a few years, but his final preparation for college was done at Phillips Academy, Andover.[2] He was admitted to Harvard College in 1811, soon after becoming fifteen years old,—which was about the average age of the entering Class of 1815. By the end of his Freshman year he had studied either so little or so unsuccessfully that the Faculty voted that he be suspended, unless his father withdrew him from the College. His father's reaction was interesting, and perhaps unique: if anything was to be done to the boy, why make it suspension? Why not dismissal? Apparently Mr. Winthrop believed in discipline, and liked not this academic pussyfooting. Apparently, too, the Faculty was so taken aback by his directness that it decided neither to suspend nor to dismiss John; he was allowed to continue as he was, "with this declaration . . . that on the first indication of returning inattention" he should be dismissed.[3]

It is possible that this leniency was due to the fact that in the preceding January the boy had lost his brother Tom. John had hurried from Boston to Philadelphia to be with him at the end.[4] By the middle of his second year at Cambridge, he was still far from being material for Phi Beta Kappa, and again the Faculty voted that he be suspended,—but this time there was a new *nisi* clause attached: "unless it shall appear to the satisfaction of the President and Mr. Frisbie that his non-attention was not wilful." The President was John Thornton Kirkland; Mr. Frisbie, a young Professor of Latin, was presumably Winthrop's Tutor. Between them they must have come to the conclusion that John's "non-attention" was not his fault but his misfortune, for he was neither suspended nor dismissed; he jogged along through college and *mirabile dictu* received a Bachelor's degree with his class in 1815. While an undergraduate he roomed in a different place each year: Freshman year at Captain Dana's, Sophomore year in 10 Massachusetts Hall (with Caleb Swan of Woburn), Junior year at Mr. Olcutt's, and Senior year in 15

Stoughton Hall (with Levi W. Leonard, of Bridgewater). He was not a member of either the Hasty Pudding Club or the Porcellian.

While Winthrop was reading law in the ensuing years, his work was interrupted by a very depressing trip to Georgia. His promising younger brother Francis William contracted tuberculosis shortly after graduating from Harvard and was sent down South in the hope of restoring his health. John went with him; the two young men sailed from Boston in the autumn of 1818 and after a tedious voyage reached Savannah, where they spent the winter. But almost from the beginning it was painfully evident that William, as the family called him, could not get well. John was with him when he died in Savannah in March, 1819.[5]

Six years after graduation John Temple Winthrop had become a Boston attorney, with an office at 7 Court Street, and had begun to identify himself with local military organizations.[6] In 1821 he joined the Ancient and Honorable Artillery Company; he became its adjutant three years later, and its captain in 1825. In 1823 he was captain of the Boston Light Infantry, and from 1825 to 1827 he was colonel of the Second Regiment,—to which the Boston Light Infantry belonged. In 1828 he succeeded Theodore Lyman, Jr., as commander of the Suffolk Brigade ("the Boston Brigade") of Militia with the rank of brigadier-general.[7] His prominence in these military organizations naturally led him into politics; in 1826, and again in 1828, he was elected one of Boston's representatives in the General Court. But his political career appears to have been limited to these two years in the Legislature. Until 1832, he made his home at his father's house on the westerly corner of Beacon and Walnut Streets overlooking the Common; in that year he moved to the corner of Walnut and Sumner (now Mount Vernon) Streets.[8]

In 1833 Mr. Winthrop's older brother, James Bowdoin (who had dropped the surname Winthrop in order to qualify for a substantial bequest under the will of his great-uncle James Bowdoin), died without issue. For reasons best known to himself, John Temple Winthrop now changed *his* name and became legally John Temple James Bowdoin.[9] Under either name he disappears from the Boston directories in 1833. Ten years later, on May 5, 1843, he died at Valparaiso, Chile; he was almost forty-seven years old, and unmarried. According to the Boston *Daily Evening Transcript* of September 4, 1843, death was due to "pulmonary disease."

References

1. Massachusetts Historical Society *Collections*, Sixth Series, IX. xvii.
2. Henry F. Jenks, *Catalogue of the Boston Public Latin School*, 143; *Biographical Catalogue of the Trustees, Teachers and Students of Phillips Academy, Andover*, 61; Harvard College Faculty Records (Ms.), VIII. 325.
3. Harvard College Faculty Records (Ms.), VIII. 325, 356, 379; in the Harvard University Archives.
4. Winthrop Manuscripts (Massachusetts Historical Society), 30A. 60.
5. *Ibid.*, 30A. 72.
6. *Boston Directory* (1821).
7. Oliver Ayer Roberts, *History of the Ancient and Honorable Artillery Company*, II. 452.
8. *Boston Directory* (1826) (1828) (1832).
9. March 22, 1834. *Laws of Massachusetts*, XIII (1834–36), 121.

FRANCIS WILLIAM[7] WINTHROP (*Thomas Lindall*[6], *John Still*[5], *John*[4], *Wait Still*[3], *John*[2], *John*[1]), one of the younger sons of Thomas Lindall and Elizabeth Bowdoin (Temple) Winthrop, was born in Boston, Massachusetts, on May 31, 1799. It is safe to assume that he was named for two uncles, his father's older brothers, Francis Bayard Winthrop and William Winthrop, of New London and New York. In writing, his father usually referred to him as Francis William, but in the family circle he was simply "William"; perhaps this was in order to avoid confusing him with his New York cousin, Francis Bayard Winthrop, Jr., who was in the same generation though ten or twelve years older than he.

Unlike his older brother Thomas, he prepared for college at Phillips Academy, Andover, instead of at the Boston Public Latin School.[1] Admitted to Andover in 1811, at the age of twelve, he spent two years there before entering Harvard College, where he soon distinguished himself and was first scholar in his class when he graduated in 1817. Between matriculation and graduation, however, he managed to attract attention to himself in another way as well. Toward the end of his Sophomore year the Faculty decided that he had been one of the fomenters of a "combination"—a sort of students' strike—and required disciplining. This undergraduate rebellion was due to an attempt on the part of the Faculty to require Juniors, Sophomores, and Freshmen to attend classes on the morning of Valedictory Day (Class

Day), which the students thought should be a holiday. In order to preserve their "privileges," the boys, led by Winthrop and five other firebrands, absented themselves from classes and created an awkward situation. In consequence, he and the other ringleaders were rusticated,—sent away from the College for an indefinite period of study in a less stimulating environment. The sentence was pronounced in July, 1815, and Francis William Winthrop remained in academic quarantine for about six months. In February, 1816, he returned to Cambridge, was examined on the subjects he had been studying *in absentia*, and was promptly restored to the Class of 1817.[2]

Francis William Winthrop was brilliant, and the Faculty was inclined to overlook his past sins when it needed a star to perform before the Overseers. Accordingly, within a few months of his rehabilitation he was chosen to deliver the "English Oration" which should conclude the Exhibition exercises in the week preceding Commencement; and in the spring of his Senior year he and four of his classmates, including George Bancroft, the future historian of the United States, were assigned—"for the next exhibition before a committee of the Overseers"—the part entitled "Mathematical Exercises." For graduation, in August, 1817, he was given the final undergraduate part (No. 23) on the Commencement program, described in the Faculty records as "An English Oration, in which the names of the benefactors of the University are to be respectfully mentioned." The oration was to last twelve minutes; the preceding items on the program were scheduled to take up a little more than three hours, without allowing time out for applause and other delays.[3] This meant that Francis William Winthrop had to sit on the platform all that time, trying to remember his lines and hoping that he would not forget the name of a single important friend of the University. For a boy who had just turned eighteen this must have been a tremendous ordeal. It is not surprising that the Reverend John Pierce, who was present, recorded in his Journal, "The concluding oration of the Bachelors, by Winthrop, was well written, but delivered so feebly as to be heard by a small part of the audience only."[4] The subject of Winthrop's discourse was "The Aspect of Revolutions on the Advancement of the Mind." After the exercises "large entertainments were given by Winthrop, Coolidge, and Salisbury."

In either his Sophomore or his Junior year he was initiated into the Porcellian Club, and a little later he was elected to Phi Beta Kappa; he was also a member of the Hasty Pudding Club, which made him its Secretary and

Orator.[5] Shortly after graduating from college he belonged to a small, scholarly supper club which included Samuel Atkins Eliot, John Chipman Gray, John Gorham Palfrey, William Hickling Prescott, and Jared Sparks; at its meetings the members read papers of their own composition and criticised one another's literary efforts.[6]

In a letter, dated April 14, 1818, Francis William's father wrote: "The moment he left College he entered the office of one of our best lawyers, Mr. Prescott, where he still remains; but in the course of a few days he returns to Cambridge for the purpose of studying Divinity, a study to which he was strongly inclined before he left the University. After mature consideration, and strictly examining his own mind, he has come to this determination."[7] But the boy's days of theological studies were numbered. After a few weeks at Cambridge, it was clear that he had tuberculosis, and he and his brother James went to Maine in the hope of restoring his health. They were gone more than two months, but Francis William's health continued to decline. Physicians then recommended a voyage to Havana. The patient was spared this; but it was decided that he should go to Darien, about fifty miles south of Savannah, Georgia, and that his brother John should accompany him.

Early in November, 1818, the boys sailed from Boston, and after a wearisome voyage reached Savannah. Francis William, considerably worn down by the sea trip, got no farther. The rest of the pathetic story is told in a letter from Dr. Lemuel Kollock, of Savannah, to the boy's father: "After resting in comfortable lodgings, he so far recruited as to be able to ride out and even in some sort to enjoy the change. But his disease, though somewhat retarded in its progress, advanced in the formation and discharge of ulcers in the lungs, bringing in their train the usual exhausting concomitants —till the evening of the 7 inst. the vital powers yielded and his soul rested with his God." Francis William Winthrop died on March 7, 1819; he was nineteen years old, and unmarried. His remains were sent to Boston, where they were deposited in the family tomb in the King's Chapel Burying-ground.[8]

An obituary in the *Christian Disciple* speaks of him as "a young man of whom the highest hopes had been raised and of whose eminence and usefulness the highest expectations were not extravagant." This phrase sounds conventional, but the tribute that follows it makes one feel that Francis

William Winthrop was indeed a very unusual young man: "Blessed with great natural powers, he had cultivated them with success, and gave evidence as well of the extent of his acquirements as of the original force of his understanding, in the rank he sustained as a scholar at the University, in the few but excellent productions of his pen, and in familiar conversations with his friends. Though his talents were remarkable, they were not more conspicuous than the unaffected modesty which enhanced their value while it in some degree veiled their brilliancy. Less ambitious of praise than of being praiseworthy, he was satisfied with the approbation of the few, and uncorrupted by the vain desire of dazzling the many. He maintained his opinions with a manly firmness, but was equally removed from presumptuous boldness and yielding timidity. Possessing feelings of great delicacy, though without approaching a morbid sensibility, his regard to those of others was as uniform as it was kind and attractive."[9]

A few weeks before Francis William's death, his brother James wrote about him to one of his own friends. He was proud of "William" and gave the following account of his ability and attainments: he "graduated the year before last at Harvard University, and tho' only 17 years old, and deprived of his eyes, except for two or three hours daily, he had the first honour of that University in a Class highly respectable for its talents. You may have seen a piece on the article in the Enc. Brittanica on Beauty, published in the North American Review for 1818, which, tho' written in great haste, and sadly mangled by the printer, does great honor to the pen of so young a man. His attack upon the opinions of Mr. Allison and Mr. Jeffries was, to say the least, unexpected. For most people received their opinions as law."[10]

References

1. *Biographical Catalogue of the Trustees, Teachers and Students of Phillips Academy, Andover*, 65.
2. Harvard College Faculty Records (MS.), IX. 25, 49; in the Harvard University Archives.
3. *Ibid.*, IX. 94, 109.
4. Massachusetts Historical Society *Proceedings*, Second Series, V (1889–90), 183.
5. *Catalogue of the Porcellian Club* (1819), 17; *Thirteenth Catalogue and A History of the Hasty Pudding Club*, 54.
6. George Ticknor, *Life of William Hickling Prescott*, 54*n*.
7. Winthrop Manuscripts (Massachusetts Historical Society), 30A. 71.

8. *Ibid.*, 30A. 71–75; *Columbian Centinel*, March 24, 1819.
9. *The Christian Disciple*, New Series, 1 (1819), 67.
10. Winthrop Manuscripts (Massachusetts Historical Society), 30A. 73.

GEORGE EDWARD[7] WINTHROP (*Thomas Lindall*[6], *John Still*[5], *John*[4], *Wait Still*[3], *John*[2], *John*[1]), one of the younger sons of Thomas Lindall and Elizabeth Bowdoin (Temple) Winthrop, was born in Boston, Massachusetts, on June 15, 1805. In the course of time the news of his arrival reached Paris, France, where the child's great-aunt, Mrs. James Bowdoin, was sojourning with her husband, who was at that time the American minister to Spain. Mrs. Bowdoin was a generous soul and it was not long before she recognized the newcomer's existence by sending him the latest thing in French finery. The present arrived safely, and was duly acknowledged by his mother, who, with questionable tact, wrote Aunt Bowdoin: "Master George Edward thanks you very kindly for the very pretty cloaths. They are much too large for him as yet. I hope the first time he wears them will be to greet your return."[1]

When George was twelve years old, his father sent him off to Phillips Academy, Andover, where three of his older brothers had prepared for college.[2] But none of them was there in 1817, the year of George's matriculation, and one cannot help wondering how the twelve-year-old boy got along in his new and strange environment. About all we know is that he roomed first at Deacon Mark Newman's house and later at the Principal's; he may have been entirely happy in either place, but somehow his surroundings sound a bit austere if not actually bleak. At any rate, he left Andover after a single year there, and presumably was turned over to a tutor,—for he does not appear to have studied at the Boston Public Latin School. Four years later, in 1822, he was a Sophomore in Harvard College, and rooming at Professor Hedge's house. He may have been a Harvard Freshman in the preceding year; but if so, he registered too late to have his name included in the Catalogue published in October.

At College George did rather well. In fact, by the beginning of his Senior year he was so highly thought of by the Faculty that he was selected to perform at Exhibition in October: he, and Phineas Allen, and George

Bartlett put on what was called a "Conference." The topic was "The Influence of Merit, Confidence, and Intrigue on a Man's Advancement in Life," and the discussion—if discussion it was—lasted fifteen minutes. This must have gone off sufficiently well, for at Commencement in 1825, when he received his Bachelor's degree, he and three classmates presented another Conference. In this one they displayed their knowledge of "The poetical characters of Homer, Virgil, Dante, and Milton."[3] His club at Harvard was the Porcellian; oddly enough, he does not appear to have been a member of either the Institute of 1770 or the Hasty Pudding Club.

After graduating from Harvard, Winthrop studied law in Daniel Webster's office, "and was admitted in regular course an attorney at law."[4] In 1828 he capped his Bachelor's degree with its customary sequel, that of Master of Arts, but this could be done without further residence at the University and without any effort on his part except going to the exercises on Commencement Day. On the same occasion his brilliant younger brother, Robert C. Winthrop, delivered an Oration in English and became a Bachelor of Arts.

During much, if not all, of the remainder of his life George Edward Winthrop was handicapped and finally incapacitated by ill health. In the *Boston Directory* of 1835 he is listed as a "counsellor" with an office at 17 Court Street. Writing about him in June, 1836, his brother Robert explained to Governor Edward Everett: "Not purposing, however, to practise in that profession, he never took means to be admitted to any higher degree in it. Of course he was never made a Justice of the Peace. As he is now the only son permanently residing at home, it would be a great convenience to my Father if it were in his power to take acknowledgments of deeds etc.—and were there now any regular steps of admission as an Attorney and Counsellor of the Supreme Court, he would gladly go through them to this end. Should it be perfectly consistent with the policy you have prescribed to yourself on this point, his appointment would be gratefully acknowledged."[5]

Two or three years later Robert C. had occasion to write again to Governor Everett on a personal matter; the letter is undated, but was probably written in October, 1838. It is headed "Private": "About four years ago, my brother George was taken down with typhus fever—from which he did not recover until after one or two relapses—and throughout his illness, as is not unusual in such cases, his brain was considerably affected. Dr. Warren

prophecied at the time no very speedy or sure recovery from this part of the malady. And a year afterwards, though he had been quite well in the interval, he began to show symptoms of extreme excitability. A trip to Europe for 7 or 8 months was undertaken in consequence and he returned in seeming health. But when the year came round again, almost at the very anniversary of the previous attack and of the fever also, renewed manifestations of an unnatural state of mind were visible. A journey in our own country, tho' of short duration, served this time to restore him. But now again, this very autumn and within a month past the malady has returned again, and with his own consent he has become an inmate of the Institution in question [the McLean Asylum, then in Charlestown].

"I have been thus minute, because I did not like to have you find him there without some understanding of the circumstances. And I need hardly suggest that it would be very painful to me, and almost certainly injurious to him, to be obliged to accompany you with the board of visiters."[6]

A classmate of George Winthrop's, writing to John Langdon Sibley in 1852, remarked: "Poor Otis and Winthrop and Walker—how I feel for their misfortune. I had heard of the case of Winthrop two years ago, and of Walker a few days after it happened I saw the notice of it in the Washington papers—but I never before heard that Otis also was suffering under the same malady."[7]

Mr. Winthrop died unmarried, at Somerville, Massachusetts, on August 30, 1875, presumably at the McLean Asylum.[8]

References

1. Winthrop Manuscripts (Massachusetts Historical Society), 30A. 24.
2. *Biographical Catalogue of the Trustees, Teachers and Students of Phillips Academy, Andover*, 92.
3. Harvard College Faculty Records (MS.), x. 77; Theses and Exercises at Commencement, 1811–65,—in the Harvard University Archives.
4. Robert C. Winthrop to Edward Everett, June 22, 1836; in the Everett Papers at the Massachusetts Historical Society.
5. Everett Papers, at the Massachusetts Historical Society.
6. *Ibid.*
7. Sibley's "Letters Received," III. 105; in the Harvard University Archives.
8. *Boston Evening Transcript*, August 31, 1875.

GRENVILLE TEMPLE[7] WINTHROP (*Thomas Lindall*[6], *John Still*[5], *John*[4], *Wait Still*[3], *John*[2], *John*[1]), one of the younger sons of Thomas Lindall and Elizabeth Bowdoin (Temple) Winthrop, was born in Boston, Massachusetts, on March 23, 1807. Both of his given names came from his mother's side of the family: she was a Temple, and the Temples were related to the Grenvilles, prominent members of the English aristocracy. Presumably he was named for his maternal uncle, Sir Grenville Temple, Bart.[1]

Like most of his brothers, Grenville Winthrop attended the Boston Public Latin School;[2] but unlike any of them, he chose for his college neither Harvard nor Bowdoin, but Columbia, in New York City. He was not the first Winthrop to attend Columbia, for his cousin Dr. Egerton Leigh Winthrop had graduated from Columbia College in 1812 and from the College of Physicians and Surgeons in 1817. Nevertheless, he was the first Boston Winthrop to depart so radically from tradition, and it is interesting to speculate as to how he came to do so. One has the feeling that Dr. John Smyth Rogers, who married Grenville's sister Augusta in 1820, may have influenced the boy or his father in favor of the New York institution of learning; and perhaps Cousin Egerton, who was a classmate of Dr. Rogers, had some connection with the decision. However that may have been, to Columbia Grenville Winthrop went, and there he graduated in 1827. From sentiment, or for some other reason, he was not content with a Bachelor's degree from Columbia alone; availing himself of an academic courtesy of his day, he asked both Harvard and Bowdoin to grant him their corresponding degrees, —and both Harvard and Bowdoin did so. Thus, toward the end of the summer of 1827, he held three Bachelor's degrees instead of one. Three years later he made the array complete by picking up the degree of Master of Arts from his true *alma mater*, Columbia. Meanwhile he studied law in New York, "was a Major on General Morton's staff and afterwards a lieutenant colonel in the New York State Artillery"; he even applied to the President of the United States for an appointment as "lieutenant of Marines,"—but failed to obtain one.[3]

Upon his return to Boston, in the summer of 1828, Grenville followed pretty closely in the footsteps of his older brother John: he read law and associated himself with local military organizations.[4] One of these was the Independent Company of Cadets, an élite company of infantry in the First Division of the State Militia. Winthrop's rise in the Cadets was rapid, and

in the year 1831–32 he was its commanding officer,—with the rank of lieutenant colonel. A few days before Election Day (January 4, 1832), Colonel Winthrop received an order to parade his company on Election Day, repair with it to the State House at noon, and report to the governor for further orders. This meant that the Cadets were to perform escort duties for the Government on that day; though his notice was short, Winthrop did his best to get out a goodly number, and about twelve o'clock on the appointed day his Company drew up in front of the State House. After a collation in the antechamber the Cadets escorted the governor and the two Houses to the Old South Church, where a sermon of uncertain length was to be delivered. At the door of the meeting-house Colonel Winthrop was ordered to report with his company at the end of a half-hour.[5]

"I did so," he wrote Governor Lincoln that evening, "and remained there 15 or 20 minutes. No order came. I was then compelled by the intensity of the cold to march the company about town for exercise. I returned in 15 minutes to the church, but still no order came from your Excellency; I continued to wait until the members of the company informed me 'that they could not handle their muskets,' that 'their fingers had lost all feeling.' I then marched the company to the basement room of the Exchange Coffee House, halted it, and allowed not a man to leave the ranks, as I was momentarily expecting to be summoned to the church. I should here inform your Excellency that a man was stationed in the church, to report to me the moment at which the sermon closed. There is another reason, beside the intensity of the cold, which induced me to leave the church the *last time*. I was requested to make way for a funeral, which was just assembling in Milk Street and which extended from Federal nearly to Washington Street. It would have been impossible to have conducted the funeral with decency if I had remained with my company in front of the church. As it was, the horses were alarmed and considerable confusion ensued. It is proper that I make known to your Excellency another material fact in this matter. The band told me that they *must* go to some fire and *thaw* out their instruments, or they could not play another note."[6]

The net result of all this was that when the sermon was finally over and the governor and the rest of the notables emerged from the auditorium, Colonel Winthrop and his Cadets were nowhere to be seen. It was a very cold day, and it was a very cold place; and Levi Lincoln, having been gov-

ernor of the Commonwealth for more than five years, was accustomed to being obeyed. Colonel Josiah Quincy, Jr., the senior aide-de-camp, fluttered about, "despatched several persons directing them to endeavor to find the company, and request Col. Winthrop to attend immediately,"—and then stood shivering on the doorstep, hoping for a miracle. While he was thus engaged, the sheriff came out of the church and told him that the governor was tired of waiting and was going to move. The governor did move. Attended only by his aides and the sheriff, some of whom found it difficult to keep up with him, he strode out of the meeting-house, up Washington Street, up Winter Street, and turned north into Tremont Street. Meanwhile Colonel Winthrop and the Cadets had left the Exchange Coffee House and had arrived at the Old South. Not finding the governor there, they marched at double quick time up "Bromfield's Lane," then at quick time up Tremont Street, arriving at the foot of Park Street just in season to present arms before his Excellency, coming from the corner of Winter Street, reached Brimstone Corner.

The adjutant of Winthrop's company detached two of its members to walk on either side of the governor on his way up Park Street; but they were ignored, and they returned to their places considerably crestfallen. At the same time Governor Lincoln sent word to Colonel Winthrop that he "had no further orders for him that day." The situation was made worse by the presence of a crowd from the North End, which enjoyed the confusion and set up a shout of derision. The governor and a few other dignitaries walked up Park Street on the sidewalk; and Colonel Winthrop, not knowing what else to do, marched his company up the street—somewhat in his rear—and halted it in front of the State House. Winthrop sent his adjutant into the building "to inform his Excellency, through Col. Quincy, that the Cadets were below and waited for further orders." "Which I did," the adjutant testified later, "and received as an answer from Col. Quincy, that his Excellency had no further orders for the Cadets, or words to that import." Whereupon Winthrop marched his company to the armory and dismissed it.[7]

On the afternoon or evening of this day of unfortunate occurrences Grenville Winthrop was arrested "for disobedience of orders and neglect of duty in the performance of the Escort duties to the Government of the Commonwealth."

The trial of Colonel Winthrop began on March 5, 1832, and lasted about

six weeks. It was by a court-martial; the charges against him were three: (1) disobedience of orders, (2) neglect of duty, and (3) unmilitary and unofficerlike conduct. On April 14 the court gave its findings and its sentence. Grenville Winthrop was found guilty on all three counts, with minor exceptions under the first and second charges. He was sentenced to be reprimanded in orders.[8]

The reprimand came from the governor as commander-in-chief. It was carefully phrased and, when printed, filled about twelve pages.[9] As the present writer sees it, Colonel Winthrop received fair treatment. Perhaps the governor should have waited longer before deciding to bring Winthrop to trial for so slight an offense; on the other hand, the dignity of his office had suffered and something had to be done about it. To him, in his frame of mind of January 4, a court-martial seemed to be called for.

From the point of view of Grenville Winthrop, the treatment he received was the result of private pique on the part of Levi Lincoln; and to prove his contention, he had the proceedings of the trial printed at his own expense. The result was a very entertaining volume of 456 pages plus a cogent, albeit sarcastic, Preface by the defendant. It is entitled: *Trial by a Court Martial of Lieut. Col. Grenville Temple Winthrop, on Charges Preferred against Him by Adjutant Gen. William H. Sumner, in Pursuance of Orders from His Excellency Levi Lincoln, Governor of the Commonwealth of Massachusetts.* It was published at Boston in 1832. A farcical variant of the episode is easily recognized in "Reminiscences of a Retired Militia Officer" in the July, 1832, issue of the *New-England Magazine.*

The reaction of the public seems to have been emphatically in favor of Winthrop. His fellow citizens immediately elected him a member of the Common Council of Boston, and re-elected him in 1833 and 1834; in the last of these years he was also one of Boston's representatives in the General Court. In 1833, the year after the court-martial, he was elected a member of the Ancient and Honorable Artillery Company; in 1834 he was chosen its captain. In 1835 he commanded the Independent Boston Fusileers, and for a number of years he was brigadier general of the Suffolk Brigade ("the Boston Brigade") of the Militia. An unintentionally ironical tribute to his name and fame appeared in 1835, when John Holloway dedicated to "Capt: G. T. Winthrop, the Officers & Members of the Boston Independent Fusiliers" a march entitled "Winthrop's Quick Step."[10]

In 1831 Grenville Winthrop married Frances Maria Heard, a daughter of the Honorable John Heard, who was for many years judge of probate for Suffolk County.[11] For two or three years Mr. and Mrs. Winthrop lived at 7 Chestnut Street; later, on Beacon Street. In the *Boston Directory* of 1839, his office address is given as 17 Court Street, but there is no mention of his residing anywhere in town. As he represented Watertown in the General Court in 1840, it may be safe to infer that he had moved to the country a year or two before. In the autumn of 1840 he was a prominent and active Democrat in the political campaign that ended with the election of the Whig candidate for the presidency, General William Henry Harrison. After 1844 Winthrop's name disappears entirely from the *Boston Directory*; apparently he retired about that time and spent most of his leisure in Watertown. He was there in the summer of 1845 when he wrote to his friend George Bancroft, then Secretary of the Navy, asking him to mention his name to the President for a commission in the Army,—"to the command of a regiment of Artillery or Infantry, or of a large body of troops comprising both these arms." He prefaced his request with the following lines: "The existing state of our relations with Mexico portends a rupture; and additions must be made to the military defences of the country. I have been in commission, in the Militia of New York and Massachusetts, for more than sixteen years,—and have been in command of 'the Boston Brigade' during a period of five, or six, years. During this time I have not been content to be acquainted with the unimportant ceremonies pertaining to parade occasions; but have devoted a considerable part of my time to the study of the standard treatises on Artillery, Fortifications, etc., etc."[12]

According to the Boston *Daily Evening Transcript* of September 17, 1852, Grenville Temple Winthrop died "at his residence in Cambridge, 14th inst., in the 46th year of his age." Zacheriah G. Whitman, the first historian of the Ancient and Honorable Artillery Company, must have known Mr. Winthrop, for he was a member of that organization at the time Winthrop was its captain. His characterization of him, though brief, carries conviction: "A gentleman of great liberality, and kind, social manners."

After her husband's death, Mrs. Winthrop resided for many years in the Isle of Wight, with her only son. Though an invalid, she occupied and diverted herself by collecting autographs. "It happened that during the earlier part of her residence in the Isle of Wight, at Cowes, not far from Osborne,

she had the same physician who was in attendance to the young Prince Leopold. The prince being desirous to obtain some American autographs for his own collection, many exchanges were made between him and Mrs. Winthrop through the intervention of their common physician. In this and other ways, a large number of foreign autographs were contributed to the collection, ancient as well as modern, from Royal and Imperial personages, as well as from distinguished statesmen and authors. A large part of them are not mere signatures, but letters and documents of literary and historical interest, and in most cases there is a portrait, engraved or photographed, of the writer." It was Mrs. Winthrop's wish that her collection—"five large volumes, and two or three smaller parcels"—should find a permanent place in the library of the Massachusetts Historical Society. Accordingly, in June, 1879, shortly after her death, it was presented to the Society by her son and her two daughters.[13]

Children:

Elizabeth Temple, born July 7, 1832, married James Clinton Hooker, and died without issue, April 2, 1912.

Thomas Lindall, born August 6 or 16, 1834, married (1) Augusta Mary, daughter of Charles A. Clinton, of New York, September 25, 1856, (2) Charlotte Ann, daughter of the Reverend John Breeks Atkinson, rector of Kingston, Isle of Wight, England, July 4, 1864, and (3) Anna, daughter of Thomas Motley, of Boston, Massachusetts, and widow of James Lawrence, August 16, 1884. His children were:

Augusta Mary Clinton, born in 1858, died unmarried in 1897. She wrote verse, some of which she published in "*Under the Cedar*" *and Others* (1888) and in "*The Bugle Call*" *and Others* (1889).

Susan Charlotte Maria, married Lewis Oxley Pyemont, of the Ceylon Civil Service, August 25, 1886.

Honora Elizabeth Temple, born March 13, 1868, married Joseph Grafton Minot, of Boston, Massachusetts, June 10, 1890, and had issue.

Mary Emma, born November 21, 1876, married Philip Mason, of Boston, Massachusetts, had issue, and died in 1907.

Susan Heard, married William Bourne Swett, in King's Chapel, Boston, October 4, 1858, and died without issue at Lenox, Massachusetts, September 4, 1886.[14] Mr. and Mrs. Swett resided at 63 Beacon Street, Boston.

References

1. *New England Historical and Genealogical Register*, x. 76.

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4. Chamberlain Collection of Autographs (Boston Public Library), B 4.44; Oliver Ayer Roberts, *History of the Ancient and Honorable Artillery Company*, III. 108.
5. *Trial by a Court Martial of Lieut. Col. Grenville Temple Winthrop* (Boston: 1832), 16, 123, 141.
6. *Ibid.*, 141.
7. *Ibid.*, 125, 138, 162.
8. *Ibid.*, 443.
9. *Ibid.*, 444–456.
10. *Boston Directory* (1832) (1833) (1834); Oliver Ayer Roberts, *History of the Ancient and Honorable Artillery Company*, III. 108–109; *Roll of Members of the Ancient and Honorable Artillery Company*, 32, 90. There is a copy of "Winthrop's Quick Step" in the library of the Massachusetts Historical Society.
11. Massachusetts Historical Society *Proceedings*, XVII (1879–80), 102.
12. Bancroft Papers (Massachusetts Historical Society), August 16, 1845.
13. Massachusetts Historical Society *Proceedings*, XVII (1879–80), 101–102.
14. *New England Historical and Genealogical Register*, LXXVII (1923), 297; *Boston Evening Transcript*, September 6, 1886.

ROBERT CHARLES[7] WINTHROP (*Thomas Lindall*[6], *John Still*[5], *John*[4], *Wait Still*[3], *John*[2], *John*[1]), almost invariably referred to as Robert C. Winthrop, was born in Boston, Massachusetts, on May 12, 1809, in the Milk Street house of his great-uncle, the Honorable James Bowdoin, who was at that time the United States Minister to Spain and Associate Minister to France. He was the youngest of the fourteen children—eight boys and six girls—born to Thomas Lindall and Elizabeth Bowdoin (Temple) Winthrop.[1] It is safe to assume that he was named for his father's half brother Robert, who was a rear admiral in the British Navy and later a vice-admiral of the blue.

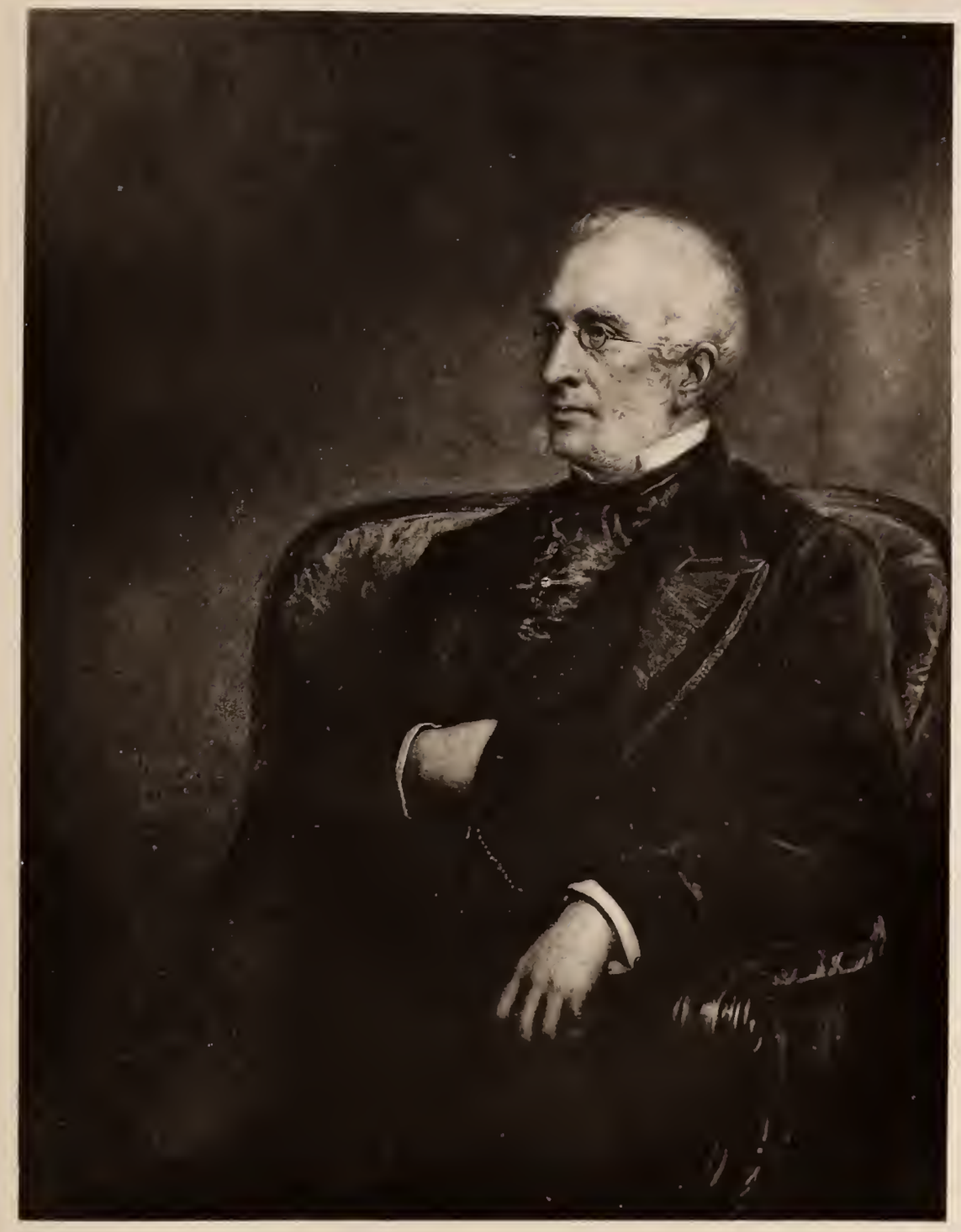
Robert's middle name, Charles, is not so easily accounted for. There seems to have been no Uncle Charles on either side of the family, and the only promising Charles Winthrop then extant was a child of eight or nine years; he was a first cousin and lived in Charleston, South Carolina. But there was a kinsman, Charles Fraser, also of Charleston, whom the parents of the new baby esteemed highly. He was a brother-in-law of Thomas Lindall Winthrop's brother Joseph and he visited the Boston Winthrops whenever he came to New England. He was at their house in the summer of 1806

and again in 1824. He was an admirer of Mr. Winthrop, whom he considered one of the handsomest men of his age he ever saw; Mr. Winthrop may have been pleasantly conscious of Charles Fraser's regard, and certainly he recognized in him an unusual man who was successful both as a lawyer and as a painter of portraits, especially miniatures. May we at least conjecture that the Charles part of the baby's name was a special courtesy shown to the amiable and talented Mr. Fraser of Charleston, South Carolina?[2]

While Robert was still a very small boy, the family moved from Milk Street to a house at 2 Hamilton Place, an attractive site with a pleasing view of the Common. Until he was nearly seven his mother, a lovely lady then in her late thirties, was his only teacher; at the beginning of his school days he went first to Deacon Samuel Greele's private establishment in Pond Street (now Bedford Street) and later to that of John Carlton Fisher, an Englishman, under whose guidance he was inspired with an enduring love for classical literature, especially that of the Latin poets. To teach Robert Winthrop must have been a rare pleasure, for he was as bright as a dollar, charming to look at, well-mannered, and unspoiled. He had two other early teachers: a William Apthorp, and a Warren Colburn who became a well-known mathematician.

A memorable occasion in Robert's early boyhood was President Monroe's visit to Boston in 1817, about which he wrote, many years later, "I was eight years old when Monroe paid his Presidential visit to Boston and remember well sitting on his knees or haply standing between them at the house of my sister, Mrs. George Sullivan, where he spent part of an evening."[3] When he was twelve, both he and his older brother Grenville began attending the Boston Public Latin School; the master, the much respected Benjamin Apthorp Gould, was much taken with Robert and at the end of the boy's final year he gave him a set of Murray's edition of the works of Washington Irving. About the same time he was awarded a Franklin Medal (a reward of merit) and was presented with a fine edition of Sophocles; the presentation was public, on the platform of Faneuil Hall, and Mayor Quincy accompanied it with some remarks that must have been distinctly pleasing to the boy's parents.

By the time Robert was fourteen he was prepared to pass the entrance examination for Harvard College, but his father very wisely postponed his going to Cambridge until another year had passed. He entered in 1824, and



Robert C. Winthrop
1809–1894

roomed in private houses—Mrs. Moore's and Mr. W. Warland's—until he was a Senior; for his final year he took a college room, Holworthy 24, which he shared with his classmate Charles Chauncy Emerson, a younger brother of the renowned Ralph Waldo Emerson. Robert Winthrop's academic record is almost incredibly good; not once did he incur the displeasure of the Faculty nor did he receive even so much as an admonition from the President. In manner he must have been a bit formal, for some of his classmates dubbed him "English Winthrop." Yet he was far from being cold or indifferent; he was a fine-looking, healthy boy with many interests besides his studies.

He commanded the military company of the College, the famous but long extinct "Harvard Washington Corps." He presided over the select convivial reunions of the Porcellian Club and the Knights of the Square Table. He was Orator of the Hasty Pudding, was alike enrolled among the notorious Med. Fac. and the exemplary Phi Beta Kappa; sang bass in the Chapel choir, played a subordinate musical instrument in the concerts of the Pierian Sodality, and not infrequently stole away to town (quite a little journey in those days) to attend some theatrical performance or social gathering.

It seems, too, that he was president of the Class of 1828.

Probably he would have liked to be the top scholar in his class, but, as Professor Channing told him, he "did too many things." The Professor was right, yet Winthrop managed to distinguish himself in his studies. Towards the end of his Sophomore year he was one of those chosen to perform at the July Exhibition; he and McKean and Nichols were to edify the public with a Greek Dialogue. A year later he and six others entertained the audience with Mathematical Exercises; and at the Exhibition in April, 1828, he delivered an oration on "The Influence of External Circumstances on the Mind." By the end of his Senior year he was the third best scholar in the class. When the Faculty distributed deturs—prizes in the form of books—Winthrop received Samuel Johnson's *Rambler* and *Idler*. At Commencement he was neither valedictorian nor salutatorian, but the thirteenth number on the program was an "Oration in English" by Winthrop. The subject was "Public Station" and he was allowed twelve minutes in which to deliver his discourse.[4] It made a very favorable impression on its hearers and may be found in print in Richard Green Parker's *Aids to English Composition*; in later years, at least, Winthrop himself did not think highly enough of it to wish to include it in his collected works.

While Robert was making a name for himself over in Cambridge, his father was attaining pinnacles of social and political eminence in Boston. About 1825 the Winthrops moved from Hamilton Place to Beacon Street where they had purchased the three-storied Phillips mansion on the lower corner of Walnut Street. This house, with its pleasant southern exposure and unexcelled view of the Common, soon became one of the leading centers of wealth, fashion, and intellect in Boston. Mr. and Mrs. Winthrop entertained hospitably and on a grand scale; one could always be sure of finding prominent, brilliant, and interesting people at their dinner table, and one could be almost as sure of not having either Mr. or Mrs. Winthrop to himself at any time. Coincident with this social efflorescence was Mr. Winthrop's political progress: in 1824 he was a member of the State Senate; in 1826 he became lieutenant governor of the Commonwealth, and he continued to hold that office for six consecutive years. Now and then this combination of social éclat and political prominence had its disadvantages. There was, for instance, the incident which Charles Fraser of Charleston, South Carolina, related in a letter written in September, 1824:

> I dined at their house yesterday in a large and elegant party. The Governor [William Eustis] and his Lady, Commodore Bainbridge and Lady, and Mr. and Mrs. John Q. Adams, Secretary of State, with other distinguished individuals were of the company. As your uncle lives near the Common, an artillery company, hearing of the assemblage of so many great folks at his house, drew up on the Common opposite to it, and during the dessert began to fire their six-pounders very unexpectedly, for at the first discharge I almost jumped out of my seat, as did the lady next to me. The Governor sent out his aid to stop it, but they were such expert artillerists that they got through the Salute before he could be heard.[5]

But to return to Robert C. Winthrop and Commencement Day at Harvard in 1828. Immediately after the exercises, Lieutenant Governor Winthrop gave in his son's honor a large reception at Porter's Tavern on the west side of Boylston Street, between Harvard Square and Mount Auburn Street. This festive occasion was attended by the rich and the great, including President John Quincy Adams; the Speaker of the United States House of Representatives was expected, but he did not appear. It was learned later that he had misinterpreted a passage from the Bible which young Mr. Winthrop had quoted in his Oration, had deemed it a slur on the South,—he came from Virginia,—and had decided not to favor the Winthrop reception with his presence.

Robert C. Winthrop was nineteen years old when he graduated from Harvard College. Soon thereafter he began to read law in the office of Daniel Webster, and in 1831 he was admitted to the bar of Suffolk County. As Mr. Webster was in Washington much of the time, the young men in his office were not often closely associated with him; but it was a good office to begin in, and Webster's occasional visits and his comments on contemporary politics were exciting and illuminating. During this period young Mr. Winthrop went much in fashionable society and became the manager of subscription balls. He also continued the military career he had begun while an undergraduate at Harvard by joining the Ancient and Honorable Artillery Company and the Boston Light Infantry,—the latter being a military association known about town as "the Tigers"; before long he was captain of "the Tigers," and in the course of time he attained the rank of lieutenant colonel on the staffs of Governors Davis, Armstrong, and Everett.[6] Activities of this kind were, of course, useful to a young man who intended to establish himself as a lawyer and perhaps go into politics. At twenty-two he put up his sign, and in the *Boston Directory* for 1832 one finds the following entry: "Winthrop, Robert C., attorney, 10 Court Street."

On March 12, 1832, Mr. Winthrop married Miss Eliza Blanchard.* She was the only child of Francis and Mary Ann (Cabot) Lee Blanchard, of Boston and Wenham. Both of her parents died before she was five years old and she was brought up by her great-uncle Samuel Pickering Gardner, who lived on Summer Street, Boston. When she and Mr. Winthrop were married, each of them was between twenty-two and twenty-three years old, Miss Blanchard being his junior by only about two weeks. She was attractive and vivacious; he, elegant and dignified, yet sometimes twinkling with merriment. On their honeymoon they spent a good deal of time in Maryland and Virginia where they visited various celebrities including ex-President Madison at Montpelier. Mr. Winthrop's reading of Thomas Jefferson's enthusiastic description of the Shenandoah Valley had inspired him with a strong desire to see that idyllic region. Thither they went from Baltimore: by railroad to Frederick Town; thence by carriage to Harper's Ferry, up the Valley, and over the mountains to Charlottesville and Monticello.[7] In Washington the Winthrops were presented to President Jackson at the

* Her first name, in full, appears to have been Elizabeth. L. Vernon Briggs, *History and Genealogy of the Cabot Family*, 1. 154.

"President's Palace," and in Baltimore he, and perhaps she, conversed with Charles Carroll of Carrollton, then in his ninety-fifth year. Upon their return to Boston Mr. and Mrs. Winthrop made their home at 7 Tremont Place, a byway that runs from Beacon Street to the Granary Burying-ground, a very pleasant and convenient situation.

From his undergraduate days it was generally conceded that Robert C. Winthrop could make a good speech, but probably few realized *how* felicitous his utterances could be until he charmed his contemporaries—and perhaps surprised himself—by two addresses he made in Boston in the autumn of 1833. The occasion was Henry Clay's visit to the city. Mr. Winthrop had met Clay in Washington, when he and Mrs. Winthrop were there on their wedding tour.[8] Perhaps that fact was partly responsible for his being appointed chairman of the committee that met the distinguished visitor and escorted him to his hotel. At any rate, when the party reached its destination, Winthrop made a speech of welcome that impressed those who heard it as being most happy; a day or two later he presided at a banquet in honor of Mr. Clay, and again he proved himself more than equal to the occasion. Before many weeks had elapsed he was invited to make the principal address at a caucus of the anti-Jackson or National Republican party, in Faneuil Hall. Of this performance a seasoned orator, who was in the audience, wrote to a friend: "I consider this not merely a good speech for a first effort, but one which any practised man might have been proud to make. It was pertinent to the occasion; it was gentlemanly and decorous in language; it was well digested and regular in order; singularly free from embarrassment and highly pleasing in manner." It was not long before young Mr. Winthrop's friends and neighbors decided that he should be their representative in the State Legislature, and to the Legislature he was elected in 1834.

Robert C. Winthrop served six years in the Massachusetts House of Representatives; and during the last three, he was its Speaker. During this period he made many elaborate speeches, and occasionally a lecture or an address. In addition to his eloquence and easy manner he possessed a very pleasing presence. He may not have been actually handsome,—that is to say, he was not the political Adonis that Governor Gore had been in his time; but no one could deny that he was distinguished-looking. His long, slightly aquiline nose was that of a patrician, and his tall, rather slender figure suggested aristocratic birth and genteel breeding. Anyone who saw and

heard him could predict that he would make a name for himself in politics. While Mr. Winthrop was in the Legislature, the inevitable road to Washington was blocked by Boston's merchant prince, Abbott Lawrence; but when Mr. Lawrence resigned his seat in Congress in the summer of 1840, Daniel Webster gave Winthrop his blessing without any reservations. In the autumn of that year he was elected by the Suffolk County district, "and by a larger vote than that accorded to any of his predecessors."

When discussing the prospect of Mr. Winthrop's being sent to Congress, Daniel Webster had said to him:

> I am by no means sure you will like Washington overmuch when you get there. You have gone fast in Massachusetts politics, and you may go far in National ones. You are thoroughly equipped for public affairs. You have in addition the advantages of not having to work for your living, and of an acquired readiness in debate, which is a precious thing in the hour of need. But, with all this, I question whether to a man of your scholarly instincts and fastidious tastes, the atmosphere of self-seeking and misrepresentation which is so apt to surround a public man of the first rank at the Capital, will not prove grievous and disheartening,—whether you will not one day weary of it all, and wish yourself back in your study at home.

During the first years in Washington, Mr. Winthrop must have thought that Webster's misgivings, if they can be called that, were quite groundless. Though his personal life was saddened by the illness and death of his wife in 1842, at the age of thirty-three, politically the eighteen-forties were a period of ever-expanding success for the gifted member from Boston.*

By 1840 the various types of Anti-Jacksonians had been combined into the Whig party, and in that year William Henry Harrison, a Whig, was elected President of the United States. For the new political party all went well until President Harrison died and was succeeded in office by John Tyler, who turned out to be a better Democrat than he was Whig. Tyler's independence, if one may call it that, created a strange situation in the Whig party. The stricter party men, like Winthrop, felt that Webster ought to disown Tyler by resigning from the office of Secretary of State. In the course of time he did so, but meanwhile there was a rift in the party.

This difference of opinion was hardly disposed of when the imminence of war with Mexico placed the Whigs in an awkward position. The election of 1844 had placed the Democrats in power, and their leader, President

* When Mrs. Winthrop was moved from Washington to Boston in the spring of 1842, her husband, in order to be with her, resigned his seat in Congress. It was filled for a few months by his friend Nathan Appleton. In the autumn Mr. Winthrop was re-elected to it.

Polk, manoeuvred things in such a way that by May, 1846, even a Whig had to assent to war with Mexico or run the risk of appearing unpatriotic. John Quincy Adams and four other representatives from Massachusetts withheld their approval; Robert C. Winthrop and one other congressman from the Bay State gave their votes for the bill that began with the doubtful statement that war existed "by the Act of Mexico." Perhaps it took more courage on the part of a Bostonian to vote for war than to follow the example of John Quincy Adams; perhaps not. However that may have been, it was not long before Mr. Winthrop found himself attacked in the press by Charles Sumner and others, and "he now first experienced the sensation of a fire in the rear from his own ranks."* The result was a split in his party at home and a third candidate—that of the "Conscience Whigs"—for his seat in Congress. Mr. Winthrop had intended to retire from national politics at the end of his third term at Washington, but being now under fire he determined to run again. He did so with such success that he received 5,980 votes, while his opponents totaled only 3,372.

During the spring and summer of 1847 Mr. Winthrop, accompanied by his twelve-year-old son, visited England and France and met a large number of celebrities. Their variety was indeed extraordinary: in England it ranged from the Duke of Wellington to the poet Wordsworth, and on the Continent it included King Louis Philippe and Mignet, the historian. A letter Winthrop wrote to his Boston friend William Hickling Prescott soon after arriving in London suggests that meeting so many notables in so short a time rather went to his head. It must have been exciting, especially on one's first trip abroad. But this does not mean that Winthrop's head was turned by all the attention he received. It was not that; he was just exhilarated by it.[10]

When Congress assembled in December, 1847, the Whigs had a small majority in the House of Representatives, and on Monday, December 6,

* Charles Francis Adams, the recognized mouthpiece of the "Conscience Whigs," expressed his sentiments in a newspaper called the *Boston Whig*: "We know not, or care not, what the feelings of others may be upon the subject, or whether Mr. Winthrop may not become ten times more popular than ever for this act: but, according to the best estimate we can form of public morality, if he could expunge the record of it even by sacrifice of the memory of all his preceding brilliant career, he would make a bargain. . . . Either the preamble to the war bill tells the truth, or it tells what is not true. If it does tell the truth then indeed are we all of us wrong, and no one is more wrong than Mr. Winthrop, in having heretofore described the administration policy as inevitably bringing on a state of war on the part of Mexico. If, on the other hand, it does not tell the truth, how could Mr. Winthrop justify it to his own conscience to set his name in perpetual attestation to a falsehood?"[9]

Robert C. Winthrop was elected Speaker. Not all of his own party voted for him: a few of his Northern colleagues had not forgotten his voting for war with Mexico, and an equal number of Southerners regarded him as an anti-slavery man. But after a change here and an adjustment there the desired majority was produced.* In spite of the dissatisfaction of the extremists, he made an admirable Speaker of the House. Though we seldom think of him as a reformer, Speaker Winthrop instituted at least one change that both enhanced the dignity and increased the efficiency of the House: he closed the saloon under his part of the Capitol.

Two incidents made the year 1848 especially memorable in the personal life of Robert C. Winthrop. The first was the death of his pre-eminent colleague, John Quincy Adams; the other was his oration at the laying of the cornerstone of the Washington Monument on July 4. Mr. Adams was stricken while at his desk in the House of Representatives on February 21; at Mr. Winthrop's request he was carried into the Speaker's room and there, two days later, he died, attended by the officers of the House and by the Massachusetts delegation. The passing of John Quincy Adams was directly connected with Mr. Winthrop's oration in the following July; under the original plan Mr. Adams was to be the speaker at the laying of the cornerstone of the Washington Monument, but when the arrangements had to be changed the burden and the glory descended upon Robert C. Winthrop. On that occasion his eloquence was more than well received, and won him a national reputation as an orator; but the author was never entirely satisfied with this oration. To his mind it lacked breadth and body, and he liked to think that it would have been better if his duties as Speaker of the House and the intense heat of Washington in summer had not combined to frustrate his highest hopes. It seemed to him that inspiration simply would not come.

During the summer Mr. Winthrop made up his mind not to be a candidate for re-election to Congress in the autumn, but his friends succeeded in making him reconsider this decision; he finally agreed to run again, but with the understanding that he might resign later if he chose to do so. The Whig candidate for the presidency in 1848 was General Taylor, the prin-

* At the Fourth of July dinner in Faneuil Hall, in 1846, Mr. Winthrop had offered the following toast: "OUR COUNTRY,—Whether bounded by the St. John's and the Sabine, or however otherwise bounded or described, and be the measurements more or less,—still our country, to be cherished in all our hearts, to be defended by all our hands!" According to one of his congressional colleagues, Alexander H. Stephens of Georgia, this toast "sent a thrill through the heart of the entire country," and "was what made him Speaker." *Congressional Record*, June 27, 1882.

cipal hero of the Mexican War, and he was elected. Winthrop was returned by his district receiving a majority of about 4,000 over the combined vote of the other aspirants, one of whom was Charles Sumner. As Speaker of the House, Mr. Winthrop escorted General Taylor to the Capitol on March 4, 1849; and as the President-elect felt the need of a little information or advice in regard to the details of his Inauguration, Mr. Winthrop called for him early. During their talk on this occasion General Taylor told him that he had hoped to include him in his Cabinet. This more or less confirmed a report that had reached Winthrop's ears about a month before, that Taylor intended to offer him the Department of State if Senator Clayton of Delaware declined it. As it turned out, Clayton accepted; probably Mr. Winthrop was more relieved than disappointed, for he had a horror of the Washington climate and did not wish to sign up for four more years of it. There was talk of his being offered the mission to London; tempting though that possibility may have been, he disposed of it by writing Secretary Clayton that he was not a candidate for any office in the gift of the Administration. Then he left Washington and devoted the summer to private business and to the preparation of an address on the life and public services of his great-grandfather, Governor James Bowdoin.

Winthrop did not expect to be re-elected Speaker of the House when Congress should meet in December, 1849, and the event proved that he had appraised the situation correctly. There were too many Southerners who thought he would be unfair to the South and too many Free-Soilers who thought he ought to be punished for not embracing their political principles. The House took no fewer than sixty-three votes before it settled on a Speaker, the contest lasting almost three weeks. Finally, after the rules had been changed so that a plurality instead of a majority should decide the question, Howell Cobb, of Georgia, a Democrat, was chosen.

When President Taylor reported to Congress on the state of the country, in December, 1849, he pointed out that the people of California had drawn up a constitution and would shortly apply for admission to the Union as a state. He favored their admission if their constitution proved to be "conformable to the requisitions of the Constitution of the United States." He stated also that before long the people of New Mexico would follow California's example; he recommended doing nothing about New Mexico until the people there had drawn up a constitution which seemed to them "most

likely to effect their safety and happiness." "By awaiting their action," said the President, "all causes of uneasiness may be avoided and kind feeling be preserved. With a view of maintaining the harmony and tranquillity so dear to all, we should abstain from the introduction of those exciting topics of a sectional character which have hitherto produced painful apprehensions in the public mind."[11] The euphemistic phraseology was probably not Taylor's own; but the idea which it more or less befogged was his. In simpler language that idea was: let us give California and New Mexico the kind of government that is best for the people of each of those regions; and when trying to provide for their needs, let us steer clear of all this furor about slavery and "free soil" and abolition. If we make good government our main object, and forget sectional issues, we shall come out all right.

Unfortunately Congress was in a condition of ferment and refused to take the broad outlook recommended by the President. Southerners fumed because the proposed constitution for California prohibited slavery; they would never vote for that unless assured that slavery would be allowed in New Mexico. As there were other disturbing issues that threatened to block the settlement of important questions, Henry Clay rolled most of them into his proposed Compromise of 1850 and produced something quite different from what Taylor had in mind. His Compromise advocated the admission of California, to be sure; but instead of leaving open the question of slavery in New Mexico, it would organize that region *now* as a territory and without prohibition of slavery.

Winthrop was, or had been, a strong admirer of Henry Clay, but he could not see the necessity of going so far or so fast in regard to New Mexico and the encouragement of slavery. Furthermore, although Taylor was rough and ready and quite remote from the type which a polished Bostonian would most easily understand, Winthrop liked him and thought that since he had a policy the Whigs in Congress ought to stand behind it. As President of the United States should he not be regarded as the leader of his party? Why should Clay try to push through a policy of his own before the President's had been given a fair trial? And finally, consistency required that Winthrop should at least try to postpone the extension of slavery to New Mexico. In the days of the recent war he had voted for the Wilmot Proviso which, if adopted, would have prohibited slavery in any territory that might be acquired by a treaty of peace with Mexico. Though the proposed Proviso was now as

dead as a doornail, Taylor's policy was much nearer to its principles than it was to the immediate surrender to the cohorts of slavery advocated by Clay.

Quite naturally Congressman Winthrop hoped that Senator Webster, too, would support the President's policy rather than Clay's Compromise; and after a long talk with him in January or February, 1850, he came away with the impression that Webster would do so. Winthrop made his own position known in a speech delivered on February 21. On the following day Webster called at his house and left a message of congratulation; this, of course, confirmed Winthrop's impression that the Senator was in general accord with him. It should be stated, however, that Webster had not committed himself except by remarking earlier in the year that he was "substantially with the President."

Two weeks after Winthrop proclaimed his views to the House of Representatives, Webster made his famous Seventh of March speech in the Senate. Winthrop listened to it and was considerably surprised to find that Webster was for Clay's Compromise and that he made no mention of the President's plan. On the following day he talked the matter over with Webster, who asked him to tell the President he was really in favor of his policy and would speak for it in the Senate before long. This must have been a bit bewildering to Mr. Winthrop, for it suggested being on both sides of the fence. Nevertheless, the Seventh of March speech seems to have had no unpleasant effect on their personal relations; nor did a speech that Winthrop made against the Compromise in May,—though some tried to persuade him that Webster's manner toward him had turned a little cool. Actually the two gentlemen from Massachusetts pursued their separate ways at this time without any apparent rift. For instance, when "a new and handsome edition" of Webster's speech was about to be published, the author asked Winthrop to suggest an appropriate classical quotation which could be used as a motto for it. Mr. Winthrop did not toss one off on the spot, but after he got home he remembered an excerpt from Livy that seemed right—*Vera pro gratis*—and he sent it to Webster.* "Within ten minutes came back the hasty line 'Just the thing, D.W.'" Moreover, Webster liked it so much that he had it

* The full text of the quotation was: "His ego gratiora dictu alia esse scio; sed me vera pro gratis loqui, etsi meum ingenium non moneret, necessitas cogit. Vellem, equidem, vobis placere; sed multo malo vos salvos esse, qualicumque erga me animo futuri estis." Webster quoted the full text on an inner page as part of his Dedication; at Winthrop's suggestion, he used only the motto—"Vera pro gratis"—on the title page.

engraved on his private seal, and later presented Winthrop with "a massive seal-ring, inscribed, '*Vera pro gratis*' on the stone, and on the ring itself 'Daniel Webster to R. C. Winthrop.'"

Early in the summer of 1850 President Taylor died and was succeeded in office by Millard Fillmore. One of the many questions that were immediately thrust upon the new President was whom to appoint to the office of Secretary of State. By the middle of July his choice had boiled down to Webster or Winthrop; his personal preference was for Winthrop, but the pressure from outside was for Webster. Winthrop went to see Fillmore, and sitting together on the edge of a bed in his dressing room at Willard's Hotel they settled the matter. Winthrop advised the President to appoint Webster, and Fillmore took his advice. When Mr. Webster heard of this, he expressed his appreciation of it to the younger man; a little later, when his appointment had become a certainty, he offered to write to Governor Briggs of Massachusetts and ask him to appoint Winthrop his successor in the Senate. Winthrop replied that he thought his name "would obviously occur to Briggs without prompting" and that he felt that the governor should have a free hand. "All I can say," rejoined Webster, "is that if, while I am at the head of affairs, I can be of service to you, you will have only to say the word." Winthrop was appointed by Governor Briggs to serve as Senator of the United States until the Legislature should meet and elect one; he took his seat in the Senate on July 30, 1850.

Mr. Winthrop voted against the Compromise as a whole; and after its defeat in that form, he voted against its most iniquitous part—the Fugitive Slave Bill—when it came before the Senate as a separate item. He also voted against the establishment of a territorial government in New Mexico without prohibition of slavery.[12] And he protested against the unjust treatment of colored seamen in Southern ports. In the anti-slavery direction he went as far as he felt he could go without endangering the Union. But in spite of this good record he was *persona non grata* to the new Free Soil party in Massachusetts, which, though a minority group, held the balance of power in his state. The Free Soilers wanted to place in the Senate someone who would be more aggressively anti-slavery, and the man they had in mind was Charles Sumner. By themselves they could not elect Sumner or anyone else; but by making a deal with the Democrats they could. When the returns from the state elections were known in November, Mr. Winthrop saw plainly

that his days in the United States Senate were numbered. The coalition of Free Soilers and Democrats would have a clear majority in the next Legislature. In January it elected Robert Rantoul, Jr., a Democrat, to complete the Webster-Winthrop term which would expire early in March. Winthrop had hoped that the Legislature would let him continue to represent Massachusetts until March 4. "With my uncertain health and great dislike of the Washington climate," he wrote, "the idea of a full Senatorial term of six years was never alluring, but I should have preferred not to be cut short in my second session by a defeat in the Legislature." But it was not so to be.

Upon his return to Boston, towards the end of the winter, Mr. Winthrop found the Legislature still trying to elect a Senator for the six-year term. It had been at it ever since the middle of January. The Whigs voted consistently for Robert C. Winthrop, but could not command a majority; the Coalition hammered away for Charles Sumner, but for a long time could not pick up enough scattering votes to elect him. Probably Winthrop neither expected nor cared to be chosen, but the possibility of Sumner's being sent to the United States Senate made his stomach turn over. Sumner had attacked him virulently (and anonymously) in the press after he voted for the bill that meant war with Mexico, and had deviated from the truth in a personal letter written to Mr. Winthrop about that time. The difference in quality between the two men is evident in their speeches: Winthrop occasionally fulminated, but he never ranted; that can hardly be said of Sumner. After one of the latter's early outbursts, Winthrop wrote him: "I am willing to believe that you have not weighed the force of your own phrases. Your 'periculosa facilitas' has betrayed you. Your habitual indulgence in strains of extravagant thought and exaggerated expression, alike when you praise and when you censure, has, perhaps, impaired your discrimination in the employment of language. . . . I write for no purpose of returning railing for railing." One wonders whether any politician ever received a rebuke expressed with so telling a combination of politeness and scorn. And now there was likelihood of Sumner's defeating him for the United States Senate! That likelihood became a certainty on April 24, when, on the twenty-sixth ballot, the Coalition candidate had a majority of one; the final vote was:

Sumner	193
Winthrop	166
Scattering	25

According to a recent writer, "in the length and severity of the contest this senatorial election has probably never been duplicated in any State of the Union."[13]

The Massachusetts Whigs now saw in Winthrop their best candidate for governor of the Commonwealth, the only demurrers being the dyed-in-the-wool Webster Whigs; the latter had never forgiven him for differing with Webster on the subject of the Compromise of 1850. Quite naturally Winthrop wondered where Webster stood in regard to his candidacy, and he was fortunate enough to obtain pretty direct information on that point; George T. Curtis told him that Webster had asked him to tell Mr. Winthrop that he was as much his friend as ever, but that he doubted the expediency of running him for governor for a couple of years because of the effect it might have on the Whig party in the South, particularly in Georgia.

Presumably Webster had given the matter a good deal of thought and had come to a sagacious conclusion; but what Winthrop wanted was his whole-hearted support,—not expressions of regard coupled with doubts as to the expediency of his being the Whig candidate at that time. This half-way approval plus the hostility of Webster's hangers-on may account for Winthrop's feeling, in later years at least, that he was betrayed by "the Godlike Dan." In his *Early Memories*, Henry Cabot Lodge wrote of Robert C. Winthrop:

> One day we were discussing Webster, with whom I had unquestioningly placed him as an ally and follower, when to my great surprise he spoke of Webster with an acerbity and energy which revealed to me a vigor and intensity of feeling of which I had not thought him capable. I do not remember what the precise grievance was, but he felt that Webster had betrayed him and he had not forgiven him. The real man came to the surface through the gracious, formal manner, and I was interested to see what very strong human feelings the real man possessed.[14]

This distrust of Webster was increased a few months later when the memories of the two men disagreed about the sequence of events before the Seventh of March speech, Webster insisting that he never concurred with President Taylor about California and New Mexico, that he told the President so, and that he was "for one general and final adjustment of all the questions." This was not the way Winthrop remembered the talks with Webster that had preceded his own speech of February 21, 1850.

Without the strong backing that Daniel Webster might have given him,

Robert C. Winthrop ran for governor in 1851, and received a plurality of more than 20,000 over Governor Boutwell (Democrat) and almost 36,000 over ex-Congressman Palfrey (Free Soiler).* He called his vote "glorious," which it was; but as it did not give him a majority, the Legislature would have to choose the next governor. Winthrop was almost certain that in that body a coalition of Democrats and Free Soilers would see that he was defeated. That is what occurred in January, and Boutwell was re-elected.

As early as November, 1851, Mr. Winthrop had written: "My friends say 'better luck next time,' but between ourselves there is not likely to be any next time for me. I am tired of it all and mean to stand aside for several years, if not permanently. Clifford would make an excellent Whig Governor." Nevertheless, the presidential-election year 1852 found him the probable Whig candidate for governor of Massachusetts until early in August when he wrote a letter from Nahant asking that his name be not presented to the approaching Whig Convention.[15] His friends assured him that either the people or the Legislature would elect a Whig governor; as one commentator expressed it, "it must be impossible that the Coalition, hoary with political sin and inconsistency, though but two years in existence, should longer blot the fame of Massachusetts and be a stench in the nostrils of the nation." But Winthrop himself was convinced that his withdrawal would strengthen the party and would make the election of a Whig governor even more probable; the Webster Whigs were more hostile than ever to him because he had not joined them in their recent attempt to nominate Daniel Webster for the presidency. It is also true that although he would have enjoyed *being* governor, "to be tethered to a little round of petty duties, daily drudgery in the council-chamber, riding on big horses, sitting in big chairs, and making big and little speeches all over the Commonwealth would now be distasteful, if not irksome" to him. Thus, at forty-three, Robert C. Winthrop gave up being a candidate for any public office and became simply a gifted and distinguished Bostonian. A few months later, he was tempted to change his mind, for John Davis was retiring from the United States Senate and it was almost certain that Winthrop could succeed him if he would allow

* Palfrey was the righteous Massachusetts Whig who, in 1847, could not find it in his heart to vote for Winthrop for Speaker of the House. His independence became the subject of one of James Russell Lowell's "Biglow Papers" beginning:

No? Hez he? He haint, though? Wut? Voted agin him?
Ef the bird of our country could ketch him, she'd skin him.

his name to be put forward. He thought it over and came to the following logical conclusion: "I would go if I really felt I could accomplish anything; but what good could I do with Frank Pierce in the White House and a democratic majority in both branches?"

In the summer of 1849, when Mr. Winthrop had been a widower for seven years, he visited at Newport and became engaged to Mrs. Laura Welles (formerly Laura Derby), "one of the most thoroughly amiable women under the sun." She was the daughter of John Derby (A.B. Harvard, 1786), and the widow of Winthrop's friend and college contemporary Arnold Francis Welles, of Boston.[16] He had known her when she was a girl, but falling in love with her seems to have taken him completely by surprise. They were married on October 15. Upon his return to Washington, Mr. Winthrop took a larger house; it was in C Street, and was later associated with Vice President King; a near neighbor was Daniel Webster, who lived on Louisiana Avenue.

Towards the end of the summer of 1849 Robert C. Winthrop received the honorary degree of Doctor of Laws from Bowdoin College. As the Maine college was named for one of his great-grandfathers and was handsomely endowed by one of his great-uncles, this honor was especially pleasing to him. In the afternoon of Bowdoin's Commencement Day, he delivered a long address before the Maine Historical Society on the life and services of Governor James Bowdoin. His oration lasted "an hour and three-quarters by the clock," but he seems to have held his large audience. This was the first of the many occasional addresses which he was invited to make, and did make, during the next thirty-five years. That was something he could always do to New England's taste; it is probably safe to say that he could do it better than any other New Englander in the period that lay between the era of Edward Everett and that of Governor John D. Long. Many of these utterances are preserved in the four sturdy volumes of his *Addresses and Speeches on Various Occasions.*

Now that Mr. Winthrop was a man of leisure, his friends and acquaintances came forward with suggestions as to what he should do. One group wanted him to run for the office of Mayor of Boston; another was sure that he ought to fill the vacancy at Harvard created by the resignation of President Sparks; and so it went. But Winthrop was not one to be rushed into this or that. Although he admitted that "the gatherings of our Historical

Society, of the vestry of Trinity Church and other local bodies, are perhaps a little tame to one who has passed so many years at work on the affairs of the Nation," he picked his way carefully and wisely. Twice he had declined to be a Fellow of Harvard College, but he now accepted election to the Board of Overseers and in 1855 he succeeded Edward Everett as president of the Harvard Alumni Association; at the Association's decennial celebration, three years earlier, he had made a thoughtful and inspiring address that was much admired, and in 1855 the University conferred on him the degree of LL.D. He was chairman of the Board of Commissioners to erect a suitable building for the Boston Public Library, and in 1854 he took on the presidency of the Boston Provident Association, "which had been founded three years before with a view of systematizing the charities of the city"; he served as its president for twenty-five years. Some years later he accepted "the laborious post of Chairman of the Board of Overseers of the Poor of Boston, which he held a long time, taking a very active part in the administration and partial reorganization of that department of our municipal system."

Although not a candidate for any political office, Mr. Winthrop was still a prominent Whig. He could see clearly that his party was sadly weakened by the Free Soil movement, which had drawn away the "Conscience" Whigs; but that was no reason for his deserting the ship. He believed in the essential Whig principles: the preservation of the Union, the binding force of the Constitution, and the maintenance of law and order. He could not lend support to any party that, in his opinion, endangered any of these. Accordingly, in 1856, he presided at the Whig State Convention held early in September and made a campaign speech in Faneuil Hall in the following month. John Greenleaf Whittier and others had hoped to win him over to the new Republican party; in fact, Whittier had written Ralph Waldo Emerson in 1854: "I may be mistaken, but I believe that Robert C. Winthrop holds in his hands the destiny of the North. By throwing himself on the side of this movement he could carry with him the Whig strength of New England." But Mr. Winthrop was wary of the aggressive new party because it was so sectional. Said he: "When a party composed of only half the States in the Union shall assert its title to the name of a national party, and shall be claimed and recognized as such, it will not be long, I fear,—it will not be long,—before half the States will claim to be recognized as a nation by

themselves. A semi-republican party is only the first step to a semi-republic, and we all know it is the first step that costs." In the preceding year he had stated his position even more succinctly: "I am for resisting the aggressions of slavery, but I cannot unite in taking the first great step for rending the Union by the formation of a sectional party." To the ear of a later generation these sentiments sound entirely logical and interestingly prophetic.

Winthrop's chief desire was to preserve the Union, and as time went on he became more and more convinced that the growth of the Republican party would sooner or later occasion disunion. When the Whig party melted away, he became an Independent, and as such voted for some, but not all, of the Democratic candidates in the state election of 1858. For this he was jeered at, even sneered at, in the columns of the New York *Tribune*. In November, 1860, he must have been happier, for in that year he did not have to choose between voting for a Republican and voting for a Democrat. The platform of the new, but conservative, Constitutional Union party coincided with his views, and its candidates for the presidency and vice-presidency—John Bell, of Tennessee, and Edward Everett, of Massachusetts—met with his approval. During the campaign he made at least one speech for Bell and Everett, but he hardly expected that they would be elected. As early as October 1 he wrote: "If Lincoln be chosen, which seems not unlikely, you and I must do what we can to prevent mischief, but I fear there will be more than we or anybody else can manage. I believe him to be at heart a moderate man; and if Southern Senators and Representatives would only keep their tempers, things might not go along as badly as they fear. The danger is that, in the first flush of such an election, madness will rule the hour." Towards the end of January, 1861, Edward Everett and Robert C. Winthrop went to Washington, "heading the delegation in charge of the great Boston petition for a Compromise, signed by nearly 15,000 legal voters." While in the capital, Mr. Winthrop talked with many public men and returned to Boston disheartened; war, it seemed, was bound to come, and in the near future.

War did come in the following April, and before the end of the year Secretary Seward asked Winthrop to come to Washington on public business. The business turned out to be a project to send abroad, at the expense of the government, a few prominent gentlemen who would mingle with the leading men in London and Paris and counteract the influence of the Confeder-

ate emissaries in those capitals.[17] On this subject he had several conversations with Seward and a long one with President Lincoln, "in which," as Winthrop expressed it, "he displayed some of his characteristic qualities of wit as well as wisdom." Winthrop was willing to go, but not at all eager to do so. There were domestic reasons for his reluctance; furthermore, it seemed to him that the quasi-official status which he and the others would have might not be wholly agreeable to our accredited ministers. So the personnel of the experiment was considerably reduced, and only two of the proposed five went to Europe; Winthrop was not one of the two. During this visit to Washington, Lincoln "read to him a confidential letter he had just finished, vindicating the course he had pursued with reference to General Fremont's abolition proclamation"; impulsive Fremont, in Missouri, had issued a local emancipation proclamation that embarrassed the Administration, and Lincoln wrote him that he must tone it down. The President feared that unless the thing was modified, Kentucky would be lost to the Union. To the Abolitionist wing of the Republican party, this wise overruling was, of course, displeasing, and Lincoln heard from it. When he had finished reading his vindication, he said to Winthrop, "There is a good deal of old Whig left in me yet."As far as Robert C. Winthrop was concerned, it was a very happy remark; for though the Whig party had evaporated, he was at heart still a Whig and remained one to the end of the chapter.

In Massachusetts, Mr. Winthrop did all that he could do for his country. His chief asset was his eloquence and he made good use of it at various mass meetings in aid of recruiting. The war went on and on, and in September, 1862, came Lincoln's Emancipation Proclamation. How that step impressed Winthrop, we can easily guess. What he wanted was "the Union as it was, under the Constitution as it is." Now the President had "suddenly changed his hand, and in the teeth of all his own declarations and arguments, put forth a solemn proclamation of universal emancipation." Winthrop liked it not, and from that time on he was increasingly critical of Abraham Lincoln's conduct of the war.

While visiting in Washington in the spring of 1863, Mr. Winthrop saw the President at the White House and had a pleasant talk with him. He liked the man, but he did not like this mixing of saving the Union with freeing the slaves. As far as Winthrop was concerned, the North was fighting to preserve the Union; that was all, and that was enough. Why complicate the

situation and make more difficult the return to normal conditions after the war? As time went on, he persuaded himself that this freeing of the slaves was prolonging the war because it goaded the Southerners into additional hostility and desperate resistance. Since he believed that Lincoln was committed to this "utterly unconstitutional" policy and to "the idea that the war is not to be permitted to cease until the whole social structure of the South has been reorganized," it seemed to him the thing for the country to do in the autumn of 1864 would be to put another man in the White House, one who would aim at restoration, not reconstruction.

When the Democratic party nominated General McClellan for the presidency, Mr. Winthrop was pleased; here was "a brave, prudent, thoroughly patriotic man, a stranger to political management and political intrigue, but possessing a degree of personal magnetism invaluable alike to a great commander and to a presidential candidate." He would vote for McClellan,—though he admitted that the Democratic platform did not suit his fancy and that McClellan's running-mate, George Pendleton, was hardly his *beau idéal* for vice president. He came to this decision during the summer of 1864, and on September 17 he was one of the principal speakers at a McClellan rally in New York City. A month later he made a long and elaborate speech at New London, and on November 2 he made a shorter one in the Boston Music Hall. The McClellan managers thought so highly of his New London speech that they had it stereotyped, and issued 200,000 copies for circulation as campaign documents.

On November 8 Abraham Lincoln was re-elected, receiving 2,213,665 votes to 1,802,237 for McClellan. About two weeks earlier Mr. Winthrop wrote to an intimate friend, who intended to vote for Lincoln:

> The chance of electing McClellan is a very small one, but the movement has done good already by stirring up the Administration, and through them the Army. Sheridan's victory was the first fruits, and I hope Richmond will soon fall. If we can frighten the Administration into finishing up the war themselves, instead of prolonging it (as I think they have hitherto been willing to do) in order to accomplish their peculiar policy and secure their own re-election, the result will be for the benefit of all concerned.

The present writer has read those sentences many times and still feels that, coming from the pen of one of the principal advocates of McClellan and Pendleton, they have a peculiar ring. They sound defensive, almost apologetic, as if the man who wrote them was not at all so sure as he had been that

his decision to vote against Lincoln was wise. Consciously or unconsciously he was trying to justify that decision by claiming credit for the victories that had been won since the dismal days of the preceding summer. Since that time Farragut had made himself master of Mobile Bay, Sherman had taken Atlanta, and now Sheridan had Early on the run in the Shenandoah Valley. As Seward expressed it, before Sheridan's victories, "Sherman and Farragut have knocked the bottom out of the Chicago [Democratic] nominations."

In the circumstances there was, of course, nothing for Robert C. Winthrop to do except to go through with the business he had unwisely taken on. On November 8 he and all of the other members of the Friday Club, except Louis Agassiz and Chief Justice Bigelow, voted for McClellan. So did almost 2,000,000 other citizens, many of whom voted against Lincoln only after much sober, conscientious thinking. Commenting on Winthrop's course, Edward Everett Hale wrote on Election Day: "Poor Winthrop's only intelligible account of his folly is that he did not want to be in the same boat with Henry Wilson [a self-made man, who had been a United States Senator from Massachusetts since 1855]. Disgraceful that a personal prejudice should influence him when the National Life is at issue. . . . The real difficulty with him is that he did not and does not believe in the people,—or in short that all men are brethren."[18] Although Mr. Winthrop may never have made the ill-considered statement attributed to him, Dr. Hale's words are worth quoting because they show us how he looked to Dr. Hale's kind of Bostonian in 1864.

The local world soon forgot, if it ever knew, that Dr. James Jackson, Benjamin R. Curtis, George W. Lyman, George Ticknor, William H. Gardiner, William Gray, Colonel Thomas Aspinwall, Chandler Robbins, Dr. George W. Blagden, George S. Hilliard, and others, voted for McClellan and Pendleton;[19] but fierce is the light that beats on a Winthrop "and blackens every blot," and consequently Boston never really forgot the lack of good judgment displayed by Robert C. Winthrop in the summer and fall of 1864. The best it could say of him in this connection was that he was sincere, both when exhorting his fellow citizens to vote for McClellan and when, six months later, he told the Massachusetts Historical Society:

> Beyond all doubt, the life of President Lincoln was a thousandfold the most precious life in our whole land. . . . The cheerful courage, the shrewd sagacity, the

earnest zeal, the imperturbable good-nature, the untiring fidelity to duty, the ardent devotion to the Union, the firm reliance upon God which he has displayed during his whole administration; and the eminent moderation and magnanimity, both towards political opponents and public enemies, which he has manifested since his recent and triumphant re-election,—have won for him a measure of regard, of respect, and of affection, such as no other man of our age has ever enjoyed.[20]

To Mr. Winthrop's way of thinking there was nothing inconsistent in this change of attitude towards Abraham Lincoln. It was Lincoln who had changed, not Robert C. Winthrop; according to the latter, "during the last six months of his life, his whole policy was modified, if not absolutely reversed," and "the strong opposition which was made to his re-election, and even to his nomination, would seem to have awakened him to a sense that he must adopt a new course."[21]

In 1855, two or three years after his return to private life, Mr. Winthrop was elected president of the Massachusetts Historical Society, and he was re-elected annually for thirty years; after a severe illness in the winter of 1884–85 he chose not to be a candidate. During those thirty years he was so active a member that the pages of the Society's *Proceedings* teem with his contributions of one kind or another; in the index to the First Series (1791–1883) almost nine pages are devoted to entries under his name, and in that to the Second Series (1884–1907) almost two pages. One of the first changes under his presidency was the expansion of the number of Resident Members from sixty to one hundred, which was put through in 1857; twenty years later he advocated an enlargement to one hundred and fifty, but his proposal was rejected by a vote equivalent to two to one. Of the years when his father was president of the Society, Robert C. Winthrop, Jr., wrote, "This long tenure of office had been illustrated, at the outset, by increased attendance at and interest in our monthly meetings, and, in its progress, by very material additions to our pecuniary resources and by the publication of no less than thirty-nine volumes of historical material, to many of which he had largely contributed."

From his father, Thomas Lindall Winthrop, Robert C. inherited a considerable number of family papers, and in 1861 he acquired from the heirs of William Henry Winthrop, of New London and Fisher's Island, "a mass of letters and State papers, chiefly of the colonial period," which, together with what he already had, "constituted the largest collection of its kind in

New England, and proved exceptionally rich in new material of much historical value."[22] This accession enabled him to carry out an intention he had long entertained of writing a Life of John Winthrop, governor of Massachusetts-Bay. Inspiration for the work had come to him when he visited Groton, England, in the summer of 1847, and the book he now undertook to write begins with a rather charming description of the English countryside which his Old World ancestors knew and loved. The first volume came from the press toward the end of 1863 and is dated 1864. Because of the uncertain state of his health the author thought it best to publish the volumes one at a time. The second, and final, volume appeared in 1866, though dated 1867. Both were received with acclaim,—by the press and by that part of the reading public interested in early New England history. The *Atlantic Monthly* made volume 1 the subject of the first article in its issue of January, 1864; and though this notice was principally a résumé rather than a review, it contained the following tribute to Governor Winthrop and to the biography which his descendant had produced:

> The book may safely rely for its due reception upon the noble character, complete and harmonious in all the virtues, and upon the eminent public services of its subject. It has other strong recommendations, affording, in style, method, and spirit, a model for books of the same class, and embracing all those paramount qualities of thoroughness, research, accuracy, good taste, incidental illustration, and, above all, an appreciative spirit, which stamp the worth of such labors.

This was high praise, but it was not excessive. Mr. Winthrop did his work so well that no one has found it necessary to "rewrite" the life of John Winthrop. The author did not aim at writing a "popular" biography; he chose rather to arrange letters and journals in such a way that the reader would get a first-hand impression of his subject's character and career. If used by a less gifted writer, this method could have led to a thoroughly dull book; but under the skilful hand of Robert C. Winthrop, it did not. Its publication, like that of Savage's edition of Governor Winthrop's *History of New England* forty years earlier, was an event of major importance in the historiography of New England. It may be that the author was not always entirely correct in his deciphering of Governor Winthrop's puzzling handwriting, and it may be that here and there he touched up a quoted word or two in order to smooth the reading of a passage. But these possible criticisms are of little importance, if any. He produced a work of enduring worth, that is as useful today as it was when it first appeared—more than seventy-five years ago.

It was well for Mr. Winthrop that he had such congenial and engrossing work during the early 1860's, for he had recently suffered a great domestic loss. While he and Mrs. Winthrop were sojourning in Europe in 1859–60, she experienced a troublesome affection of the eye, and soon after their return to the United States, in the summer of 1860, she showed symptoms of an internal malady that proved fatal. She died on April 26, 1861. Most of their married life had been spent at 1 Pemberton Square, and Mr. Winthrop continued to reside there until about 1870. In the autumn of 1865 he married Adele (Grainger) Thayer, widow of John Eliot Thayer, of Boston, and daughter of Francis Grainger, of Canandaigua, New York. He had known her from girlhood; they had many friends in common; and her buoyant nature was a great help to him when his uncertain health, especially insomnia, made him despondent. It was this Mrs. Winthrop who was for a quarter of a century one of Boston's gracious and stately hostesses. About 1872 the Winthrops moved into the house at 90 Marlborough Street which continued to be his winter home as long as he lived. For the summer months and early fall there was the country place at Brookline.

When in town, Mr. Winthrop spent a large part of his time at the Massachusetts Historical Society, where he was continually finding interesting nuggets among the Winthrop Papers, many of which he communicated to the Society at its meetings. Much of his time, too, must have been devoted to the preparation of the addresses which he was invited to make, here, there, and everywhere. In this field he was an accomplished artist and he took the work very seriously. It was something he could do better than almost anyone else in the United States, and it was something that delighted the minds and hearts of thousands of his fellow citizens. Both of these aspects of it appealed to him strongly; and though the labor involved was prodigious, he did it cheerfully and generously.

Among the last to come from Mr. Winthrop's pen was his oration upon the completion of the Washington Monument. It was he, it will be remembered, who delivered the oration when the cornerstone was laid in 1848; in 1884, Congress named him the orator of the day designated for the dedication of the completed shaft. The day was to be February 22, 1885, and the place, as thirty-seven years before, the Hall of the House of Representatives. As Mr. Winthrop was seventy-five years old when this appointment was made, he accepted it with some misgivings. He completed the manu-

script in good season, but early in the winter he was stricken with pneumonia which almost proved fatal. As it was clear that he would not be strong enough to speak in public in February, a substitute had to be found to deliver the oration. The artist in Mr. Winthrop made him very particular about the selection of the speaker whose eloquence or lack thereof could make or mar the product of his mind. His son mentioned various names, each of which evoked "melancholy groans" from the convalescent. But when he suggested John D. Long, formerly governor of Massachusetts and at that time a member of Congress, Mr. Winthrop replied, "Yes, if he will"; and so it was Governor Long who delivered the address, and he did it well.

Before Mr. Winthrop withdrew from political life his printed speeches were widely read and were often admired by persons whom he had never seen. Among these was George Peabody, then a banker in London, whose ability to make money was more than extraordinary and whose philanthropy was almost unbelievable. As Mr. Peabody was born in Massachusetts, the name of Winthrop was not without meaning to him; but it was Robert C. Winthrop's utterances that especially attracted his attention. Time and again he remarked that if he could choose a President of the United States, he would give that office to Mr. Winthrop. He could not make him President, but when he established a fund of $2,100,000, which he later increased to $3,500,000, for the promotion of education in the South he placed him at the head of the board of trustees; and when he founded the Peabody Museum of Archaeology and Ethnology, in connection with Harvard University, he persuaded Mr. Winthrop to accept the corresponding position there. The former choice was particularly wise and happy, for Robert C. Winthrop had always entertained friendly feelings towards the South and he had no sympathy with those who, after the war, would treat it as a conquered province. Furthermore, he was a tremendous worker in any business that was entrusted to him. After his death his colleague, Joseph H. Choate, wrote:

> It may be said with truth and moderation that the great success of Mr. Peabody's intentions for the amelioration of the destitution and sufferings of the Southern people by education has been largely due to the ceaseless and vigilant devotion of Mr. Winthrop, during these twenty-seven years, of the business of the Trust. Not a school was aided but after careful consideration of its merits by him. Not a dollar was expended without his serious consideration of the utility of the outlay in the direction intended by Mr. Peabody.

It is pleasant to record that during his lifetime Mr. Winthrop's ability and devotion received enduring recognition. In 1886 a Training School for Teachers at Columbia, South Carolina, was named for him; and in 1894 the cornerstone of its new buildings—at Rock Hill, South Carolina—was laid, with appropriate ceremonies, on his birthday. The school became The Winthrop Normal and Industrial College of South Carolina, and in 1920 was renamed Winthrop College, the South Carolina College for Women; it has a faculty of ninety-two members and an enrolment of about 1600 students.

Mr. Winthrop called himself "an Episcopalian, of the Arnold and Whately school, with something more of the Paley admixture"; for fifty-nine years he was a vestryman of Trinity Church, Boston; and it is hardly necessary to add that he was one of the innumerable admirers of Phillips Brooks. From its foundation in 1867, he was actively connected with the Episcopal Theological School at Cambridge, and it was he who wrote the statement made by the trustees when they declined a gift of $100,000 which was conditional upon the institution's being thenceforth controlled by High Churchmen. He disliked sacerdotalism. His long association with the School is commemorated by a dignified dormitory named Winthrop. He was at the head of a number of philanthropic organizations, two of which—the Children's Hospital and the Massachusetts Bible Society—were especially near to his heart.[23]

In many ways, including his independence of thought and action, Mr. Winthrop was a "typical" Bostonian; and, as time went on, he became one of Boston's Grand Old Gentlemen. Long before he was old he acquired a venerable look; it was becoming to him, and unlike most of us he seems to have had no objection to appearing older than he actually was.[24] One of the odd things about this Bostonian was that he was not at all sure that he would not have been quite as happy if he had spent his life in New York. At the age of eighty, he wrote:

> I incline to think I might have liked New York as well—perhaps better; such things are much a matter of early association. Of the luxurious, ultra-fashionable society that has developed itself there since the war, I know little or nothing, but in my day there were most attractive, unpretending people to be met with, and I have no doubt that similar circles still exist. Eighty years ago, when I was born, the difference between the two places was not nearly so great as it now is, New York having become more and more a huge metropolis, while Boston, in spite of

its growth and many attractions remains, as it always was, distinctly provincial.[25]

After Mr. Winthrop was eighty the condition of his heart made him a great sufferer; yet in the spring of 1892 he made his accustomed visits to New York and Washington, and even in the autumn of 1893 he met the Peabody Trustees in New York and spent a fortnight in the Berkshires. But he was really a broken man after the death of his wife. She died at Brookline on June 16, 1892, after a short illness. She was much younger than he, and he felt the loss of her so deeply that he rarely trusted himself to speak or write of this bereavement. He spent the summers of 1893 and 1894 at Nahant, but "the interest in life had gone out of him,—mental depression and physical suffering remained." On November 16, 1894, he died at his home on Marlborough Street, in Boston. In his will he bequeathed $5000 each to the Massachusetts Historical Society and the Boston Provident Association; $1000 to the Boston Children's Hospital; and established at Harvard the Robert C. Winthrop scholarship "to be assigned to the Peabody Museum of Archaeology and Ethnology."

There are at least three original portraits of Mr. Winthrop, three busts, and a medallion. Both chronologically and aesthetically the medallion comes first. It was executed by Ball Hughes in 1841 and is reproduced in Robert C. Winthrop, Jr.'s *Memoir* of his father,—facing page 26. If it is a good likeness,—and one feels that it is,—Mr. Winthrop's rapid rise in the political world is easily understood, especially when one recalls that the gift of oratory was combined with physical beauty. This was Robert C. Winthrop at thirty-two,—"the glass of fashion, and the mould of form," the flower of good breeding and the essence of refinement, Boston at its best. One of the busts was made by Henry Dexter and was "taken soon after his [Winthrop's] retirement from Congress"; that would be about 1855, when the subject was between forty-five and fifty years old.[26] It now surmounts the cabinet containing the Winthrop Manuscripts at the Massachusetts Historical Society. According to Charles Francis Adams, who knew him well, it is "weak in design and execution" and a failure "both as a work of art and as respects portraiture"; he asserted, moreover, that it "was never satisfactory to Mr. Winthrop himself." The second bust was done by Hiram Powers, in Florence, in 1868. This one, which his son found "more effective" than the other, belongs to Harvard University and is, or was, in the Library. The third has adorned the Dowse Library of the Massachusetts Historical Society since

1907. It is in marble and was reproduced by F. C. Recchia "from a cast, probably taken by Hiram Powers about the year 1868." The cast was given to the Society in 1899 by the family of Charles Deane, one of Mr. Winthrop's contemporaries; it used to stand in Mr. Deane's library. "Taken altogether," wrote Mr. Adams, "it is not unworthy of him it represents."[27] It is reproduced as the frontispiece to volume 1 of the Third Series of the *Proceedings* of the Massachusetts Historical Society.

There are three portraits by Daniel Huntington. The earliest (1871) is in the Peabody Museum of Harvard University; it seems to be an excellent likeness of Mr. Winthrop in his early sixties,—intelligent, kindly, and serene,—and is reproduced here. The second is in the Speaker's Lobby in the Capitol at Washington; it was furnished by one hundred and seventy-five prominent citizens of Massachusetts, "without distinction of party," and was presented to the United States on June 27, 1882; part of the intention seems to have been to commemorate "the important service rendered to the country" by Mr. Winthrop in his Yorktown oration of the preceding year. It shows him as he was at that time, a man of seventy-two years; there was already in the Speaker's Lobby a portrait—probably a crayon portrait—that was "supposed to represent him" as he was when Speaker of the House.[28] The third Huntington portrait is at the Massachusetts Historical Society; it was "painted in 1885, on his retirement from the Presidency after a service of thirty years, and presented to the Society by individual members, in October of that year."[29] Curiously enough, though this picture was painted fourteen years after the Peabody Museum portrait, it gives—in some ways—the impression of being that of a younger man. Instead of suggesting the serenity and resignation of one's later years, it presents an alert man who might even turn fiery. Perhaps Mr. Winthrop was that sort of person at seventy-five; but photographs taken of him about that time make him appear venerable rather than vigorous and assertive. This portrait is reproduced as the frontispiece of volume IX of the Second Series of the *Proceedings* of the Massachusetts Historical Society, and in volume IV of the *Commonwealth History of Massachusetts* (edited by Albert Bushnell Hart), facing page 284.

Children, all by his first wife:

A son, who died in infancy.

Robert Charles, born December 7, 1834, A.B., Harvard, Class of 1854,

married (1) Frances Pickering Adams, and (2) Elizabeth Mason, had issue, and died June 5, 1905. See p. 390.

Elizabeth ("Eliza") Cabot, born about 1836, died unmarried, in Paris, France, in the autumn of 1921; she had been residing in Paris for about twenty years.

John, born June 20, 1841, A.B., Harvard, 1863, married Isabella C. Weyman, and died without issue, September 18, 1895. See p. 406.

References

1. Robert C. Winthrop, Jr., *A Memoir of Robert C. Winthrop*, 5. Virtually all the material for this sketch may be found in that excellent Memoir.
2. Alice R. Huger Smith and D. E. Huger Smith, *Charles Fraser*, 17, 21.
3. Winthrop Manuscripts (Massachusetts Historical Society), 33, Part III. 7.
4. Harvard College Faculty Records, x (1822–29), 123, 180, 178; Commencement Program, August 27, 1828.
5. Alice R. Huger Smith and D. E. Huger Smith, *Charles Fraser*, 21–22.
6. Oliver Ayer Roberts, *History of the Ancient and Honorable Artillery Company*, III. 85.
7. Robert C. Winthrop to Anna Winthrop, March 29, 1832, in the Winthrop Manuscripts (Massachusetts Historical Society), 36A.
8. *Ibid.*
9. Charles Francis Adams, *Charles Francis Adams*, 63, 71–72.
10. *The Correspondence of William Hickling Prescott, 1833–1847* (transcribed and edited by Roger Wolcott), 631.
11. O. O. Howard, *General Taylor*, 335–336.
12. Edward L. Pierce, *Memoir and Letters of Charles Sumner*, III. 225–226.
13. Harold U. Faulkner, in *Commonwealth History of Massachusetts*, IV. 99. The original of Winthrop's letter to Sumner, dated August 17, 1846, is in the Houghton Library of Harvard University.
14. Henry Cabot Lodge, *Early Memories*, 302.
15. It is printed in the Boston *Daily Advertiser*, August 7, 1852.
16. *New England Historical and Genealogical Register*, XXXI (1877), 95.
17. Massachusetts Historical Society *Proceedings*, Second Series, I. 204–207.
18. Edward E. Hale, Jr., *The Life and Letters of Edward Everett Hale*, I. 379–380.
19. Robert C. Winthrop, Jr., *A Memoir of Robert C. Winthrop*, 261.
20. Massachusetts Historical Society *Proceedings*, VIII (1864–65), 255.
21. Robert C. Winthrop, Jr., *A Memoir of Robert C. Winthrop*, 266.
22. *Ibid.*, 230; *Winthrop Papers*, I. vi.
23. *Tributes to the Memory of Robert C. Winthrop*, 30.
24. Henry Cabot Lodge, *Early Memories*, 301.
25. Robert C. Winthrop, Jr., *A Memoir of Robert C. Winthrop*, 337–338.
26. *Ibid.*, 309*n*.

27. Massachusetts Historical Society *Proceedings*, Third Series, I. 100, 426.
28. *Congressional Record*, January 19, 1888.
29. Massachusetts Historical Society *Proceedings*, Second Series, IX. vi.

EGERTON LEIGH[7] WINTHROP (*Benjamin*[6], *John Still*[5], *John*[4], *Wait Still*[3], *John*[2], *John*[1]), the second son of Benjamin and Judith (Stuyvesant) Winthrop, was born on the outskirts of New York City on July 5, 1792, and was baptized at St. Mark's Church in the Bowery ten days later.[1] According to the printed records of the church, his sponsors were Segerton Leigh, Nicholas William Stuyvesant, and Margaret Stuyvesant; the name of the first of these explains to a certain extent how the child came to be given the euphonious and somewhat romantic name of Egerton Leigh. But who was this Egerton or Segerton Leigh? The present answer rests wholly on conjecture. An English contemporary of Benjamin Winthrop, the child's father, was Egerton Leigh of West Hall, High Leigh, Cheshire. It is conceivable that he and Benjamin were boyhood friends when the latter was at school in England in the 1780's and that Mr. Leigh chanced to be in New York at the time that a second son was born to the Winthrops. Whoever he was, Benjamin Winthrop must have held him in very high esteem, for instead of naming the child for his brother Robert, or for any of his half brothers,—John, Francis, William, Joseph, and Thomas,—he brought in a name from outside of the Winthrop family, and presumably from outside of the Stuyvesant family as well. All his other children bore names that can easily be traced to one side of the house or the other.

Egerton Winthrop grew up in luxury in the ancestral Stuyvesant domain called "Bowery" and entered Columbia College in 1808. After receiving the degree of Bachelor of Arts in 1812 he devoted himself to the study of medicine at the College of Physicians and Surgeons and became an M.D. in 1817. Among the friends he made at "The New Medical Institution" was Joseph Rodman Drake, author of the well-known patriotic poem entitled "The American Flag."[2]

Dr. Winthrop died unmarried in November, 1834.

References

1. *New York Genealogical and Biographical Record*, LXXI. 335.
2. *Catalogue of Officers and Graduates of Columbia University* (1906), 90, 198; James Grant Wilson, *The Life and Letters of Fitz-Greene Halleck*, 166.

BENJAMIN ROBERT[7] WINTHROP (*Benjamin*[6], *John Still*[5], *John*[4], *Wait Still*[3], *John*[2], *John*[1]), the youngest and perhaps the most interesting son of Benjamin and Judith (Stuyvesant) Winthrop, was born on the outskirts of New York City on January 18, 1804, at his father's house in Stuyvesant Street, near the Bowery.[1] It is fairly obvious that he was named for his father and for his father's brother Robert, who was then a captain in the British Navy. He was the second child in the family to be called Benjamin Robert, the first having died in 1800 when about six years old; presumably the second was baptized at St. Mark's Church in the Bowery like all his brothers and sisters, but his name is strangely absent from the printed version of the baptismal records of the church.[2]

Though Benjamin had tastes and interests that would have made him enjoy and profit by four years at college, and though the family had ample means for financing him through Harvard, Yale, or Columbia (his older brother's *alma mater*), his formal training in the arts and sciences ended with his school days. Probably his first experience in the business world was as a clerk in the banking house of Jacob Barker, a dazzling financier, whose ups and downs were the talk of more than one generation. Curiously enough, this connection led to Winthrop's close association with an interesting group of young authors. Among the other clerks in Barker's establishment was Fitz-Greene Halleck, a lively young versifier who was on the road to becoming a minor American poet.

Although Halleck was about fifteen years older than Winthrop, a friendship grew up between them which lasted as long as both men lived. In the spring of 1819 Halleck and another friend, Dr. Joseph Rodman Drake, leaped into anonymous prominence by writing a series of entertaining verses that were printed in the New York *Evening Post*. The authors called themselves "The Croakers," and in order to remain incognito, Halleck either mailed the manuscripts to the editor's office or got young Winthrop to take

them there by hand. This was Winthrop's introduction to the world of letters, in which he belonged quite as much as in the world of commerce, and the beginning of his intimacy with the poet.[3]

For many years after the names of The Croakers were known, the public was still in the dark as to which literary partner wrote this rhyme and which wrote that. Halleck refused to divulge this information even to the editor of the Bradford Club edition which came out in 1862. But at Mr. Winthrop's request he penciled on the table of contents of *his* copy the letters H and D to indicate the authorship of each item, and at the same time impressed it upon his friend that these notes were for his "exclusive information." After Halleck's death this bit of literary lore was given to the reading public.[4] Winthrop's friendship is responsible also for a portrait of the poet by Thomas Hicks. Mr. Winthrop wanted to have one done, and made the proposal to Halleck in 1855; in accepting his invitation, Halleck wrote, "Such requests have always been among the most flattering tokens of regard from man and woman, and this, coming from one who has known me *personally* for so many years, many of them years that tried the tempers of both of us, is indeed a compliment paid me of the highest value."[5] Many years later, when the time had come for commemorating Halleck by erecting a statue of him in Central Park, Benjamin Robert Winthrop was the largest contributor in a long list of subscribers.[5]

At twenty-five Mr. Winthrop married Eliza Ann Coles Neilson, whose father, William Neilson, was president of the American Insurance Company. It was not long before Winthrop, too, was an insurance executive; for a number of years he was vice president of the Merchants' Mutual Insurance Company, with an office at 12 Merchants' Exchange and later at 6 Wall Street. In the *New York Directory* for 1848–49 his official position suddenly changes from vice president to *receiver*; the company, which dealt in marine insurance, went through the dismal process of liquidating and then ceased to exist. About ten years later Mr. Winthrop became vice president of the Institution for the Savings of Merchants' Clerks, an office which he continued to hold as long as he lived. In 1867 he was also president of an unidentified organization with headquarters at 69 Murray Street.

Whatever Mr. Winthrop's success—or lack thereof—in business may have been is relatively unimportant. First and foremost he was a New Yorker of wealth and position who devoted part of his income and much of his time

and energy to the good of the community in which he lived. Just as his uncle, Thomas Lindall Winthrop, had helped to administer the beginnings of primary school education in Boston, so Benjamin Robert Winthrop became a trustee and one of the most active members of the Public School Society in New York; when that organization dissolved, in 1853, he served as a School Commissioner and a member of the Board of Education.[6] Among the charitable institutions that benefited from his counsel and generosity were the New York Hospital, the Lying-in Hospital, and the Institution for the Deaf and Dumb; the last of these "was the especial object of his devoted attention and care during its very long period of trial, out of which his watchful energy and liberality contributed largely to bring it to the position of strength, safety, and permanent usefulness which it continues to enjoy." Of the Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Animals he was a charter member; and as a vestryman of Trinity Church, or more especially as a member of its Cemetery Committee, he was instrumental in beautifying the churchyards of Trinity Parish with displays of plants that delighted the eyes of the passers-by. To St. Mark's Church in the Bowery he gave a beautiful window in memory of his father and mother. At the outbreak of the Civil War Mrs. Winthrop was one of the leaders in the humane movement that developed into the United States Sanitary Commission.[7]

History was a major and enduring interest with Mr. Winthrop. In 1838, and again in 1840, he was elected Recording Secretary of the New York Historical Society, and for many years he was its Vice President. He was also a Corresponding Member of the Massachusetts Historical Society, whose meetings he occasionally attended. He loved the old New York of his boyhood, and the destruction of its familiar landmarks and historic buildings pained him. One day, when passing through Franklin Square, at the junction of Pearl and Cherry Streets, he noticed that the Walter Franklin mansion was being demolished to make way for a commercial building. To most New Yorkers this meant little except a healthy symptom in the phenomenal growth of their city; but Mr. Winthrop could not view the destruction without a pang. He knew that the beautiful old house had stood there since about 1750, and he knew, too, that it had been the residence of General Washington at the time of his inauguration as the first president of the United States. In his own words, "It was here that the courtesy, dignity, and grace, which marked the official and private hospitality of our first Presi-

dent, won the affectionate regards of all who came within its sphere."[8] Moved by these reflections, Mr. Winthrop rescued from the débris enough oak timber to make two very tall armchairs.* When these had been produced, he presented one to the New York Historical Society and the other to the Massachusetts Historical Society, of which his cousin, Robert C. Winthrop, was then president. From the point of view of a modern interior decorator these chairs may leave a good deal to be desired; but few observers will deny that the design is highly ingenious or that the carving is both elaborate and well executed. The high back is surmounted by an eagle with outspread wings; above the cushioned panel of the back one discovers a carved head of George Washington framed by a not too ornate wreath; the letters G and W are so cleverly worked into the tracery on either side of the panel that they might easily escape notice unless one's attention was called to them. The shield of the United States decorates the middle of the front of the frame of the seat. (There is a drawing of "the Washington chair" in the *Proceedings* of the Massachusetts Historical Society, III (1855–58), facing p. 123.) For many years the president of the Massachusetts Historical Society occupied this chair while conducting meetings.

When writing to Robert C. Winthrop about the material of which the chair was made, Mr. Winthrop purposely digressed a little in order to record the history of the street called the Bowery and to give the origin of its name. He did this, no doubt, with a view to assisting future historians and to preventing the establishment of any false ideas. As he pointed out, "The origin of the name given to this avenue is not so well known as it deserves to be." Five or six years later he expanded this theme into a delightful paper entitled "Old New York," which he read before the New York Historical Society in February, 1862. Its historical and antiquarian value is due to the information it contains; its charm comes from its unconscious wistfulness and its excellent literary style. As stated above, the author loved the New York of his boyhood and youth and felt keenly the loss of something beautiful when it was wiped out by the extraordinarily successful commercial New

* There was enough material left over to make two smaller chairs. One of these he gave to Robert C. Winthrop, who was with him at the time he discovered the razing of the Walter Franklin house and had suggested salvaging some of the pieces for historical memorials; the other he kept for his own use. Massachusetts Historical Society *Proceedings*, XVII (1879–80), 134.

About this time (1855), Mr. Winthrop joined with Robert C. Winthrop and David Sears, of Boston, in giving small lights of glass to the church of their ancestors in Groton, England. Winthrop Manuscripts (Massachusetts Historical Society), IB. 82.

York that supplanted it. He had sentiment, as distinguished from sentimentality, and the depth and genuineness of his feeling make the reader share his mood. On the same occasion he gave the Society a map of "a portion of the property which once formed the estate of Governor Stuyvesant." Having grown up there, Mr. Winthrop was an excellent authority on the subject. The map is really two maps,—one superimposed upon the other. The basic map, printed in black, is of Bowery Village and its surroundings in the good old days; the upper map, printed in red, shows the Bowery district of a later era,—with the avenues and streets that made a hash of the lovely estates of the Stuyvesants. To the antiquarian it is a very valuable document; but the metamorphosis it depicts is truly depressing.[9]

In spite of time and change, Mr. Winthrop was not easily driven out of the domain of his Stuyvesant ancestors. Until about 1840 he resided at 15 Stuyvesant Street, near Third Avenue; about 1845 he moved to 134 Second Avenue, which continued to be his home for the next twenty-five years. During the last ten years of his life, from 1869 to 1879, he and his family lived in Paris, France; now and then he revisited his native land for purposes of business.[10] By that time he had amassed financial resources that were "princely," even when measured by New York standards.[11] On his way back from one of these trips, early in the summer of 1879, he was taken ill and got no farther than England. He died in London on July 26, 1879, in the seventy-sixth year of his age. Funeral services were held in St. Mark's Church in the Bowery on August 20 and he was buried in its churchyard.[12]

A few weeks after Mr. Winthrop's death, his friend, Dr. George H. Moore of the Lenox Library, wrote of him: "Mr. Winthrop was a genial and entertaining companion in the society of his friends, and his conversation was full of spirit. He had a keen sense of the ludicrous, was an excellent mimic, and when in the vein among his intimates his skill as a *raconteur* was *inimitable*. No one who ever heard them is likely to forget his picturesque sketches of men and things in the old New York, which he could so vividly recall. He was singularly reluctant to challenge public attention, and hated notoriety. Being of a slender frame and spare habit, his general make-up and physique did not carry the impression of robust health. Yet, until the beginning of the rapid decline in which his life ended, he was a man vigorous in both mind and body, and the nervous energy with which he made his points and carried them out indicated no constitutional weakness."[13] His cousin Robert

C. Winthrop characterized him briefly as "a man of large means and of a liberal spirit, of great intelligence and the highest integrity."[14]

A portrait of Benjamin R. Winthrop reproduced in the issue of *Harper's Weekly* for September 6, 1879 (page 705), was called by one who knew him well "a speaking likeness." It shows him as a fine old gentleman with a distinctly severe look; but upon studying his cast of countenance one is inclined to attribute the apparent severity to the downward curve of his moustache, which is, if anything, accentuated by his dignified side-whiskers. Perhaps the small old-fashioned spectacles heighten the effect; certainly they do not tend to relieve it. If one covers the lower part of the face, one finds an entirely different person. The eyes are kindly, almost merry, and one feels sure that they often twinkled. Their owner must have had a sympathetic nature and a good sense of humor; but he was not a man who could be imposed upon, and few were likely to be so foolhardy as to make the attempt.

A portrait by Thomas Hicks was exhibited by the National Academy of Design in 1859; it was then owned by Mrs. B. R. Winthrop.[15]

Though born on Manhattan Island, and though his mother was a Stuyvesant, Benjamin R. Winthrop was at heart a New Englander. How else should we account for the following lines which he interpolated in a paper he read in 1862—not, let it be observed, before some New-England-worshiping organization, but before the New York Historical Society? "If New England has indeed been outstripped in the race with New York for commercial enterprise and prosperity, we must not fail to concede one point, namely: That it is to a strong infusion of a new element of character, particularly the New England element, that we owe much of the vast increase of the moral and material power of our city, the growth of the last half century. New England men have cast freely into the common stock of the community their enterprise, intelligence, ingenuity, industry, commercial integrity, and unconquerable perseverance. With such a commingling of moral and social elements, where should be the wonder that a city should rise in power and greatness with a rapidity that has no parallel in the history of the world?"[16]

Children:

Eliza Shirreff, married William S. Kernochan, October 27, 1868.

Mary Cornelia, born in 1836, died in 1845.

Egerton Leigh, born October 7, 1838, A.B., Columbia, 1860, married Charlotte Troup Bronson, had issue, and died April 6, 1916. See p. 408.

Charlotte Neilson, born in 1841, died in 1847.

Benjamin Robert, born September 30, 1843, is said to have married Joanna Schuyler. See p. 410.

Anna Neilson, married Horatio G. Curtis, of Boston, October 14, 1871. No issue.

William Neilson, born July 11, 1849, B.A., University of Cambridge, 1871, married Louise Van Zandt, June 12, 1876, had issue, and died March 18, 1915. See p. 410.

References

1. *Harper's Weekly*, September 6, 1879, 705.
2. *New York Genealogical and Biographical Record*, LXXI. 335.
3. James Grant Wilson, *The Life and Letters of Fitz-Greene Halleck*, 218.
4. *Ibid.*, 223.
5. *A Memorial of Fitz-Greene Halleck* (edited by E. A. Duyckinck), 65.
6. *Harper's Weekly*, September 6, 1879, 705.
7. *The Memorial History of the City of New York* (edited by James Grant Wilson), IV. 451; III. 494.
8. Massachusetts Historical Society *Proceedings*, III (1855–58), 124.
9. Benjamin Robert Winthrop, *Old New York* (from Valentine's Manual, 1862).
10. Massachusetts Historical Society *Proceedings*, XVII (1879–80), 133.
11. James Grant Wilson, *The Life and Letters of Fitz-Greene Halleck*, 213.
12. Massachusetts Historical Society *Proceedings*, XVII (1879–80), 133.
13. *Harper's Weekly*, September 6, 1879, 705.
14. Massachusetts Historical Society *Proceedings*, XVII (1879–80), 133.
15. New York Historical Society *Collections* for 1941, I. 228.
16. Benjamin Robert Winthrop, *Old New York* (from Valentine's Manual, 1862), 4.

JOHN[7] Winthrop (*John*[6], *John*[5], *Adam*[4], *Adam*[3], *Adam*[2], *John*[1]), was born February 21, 1778, presumably in Boston. His father was a prominent merchant in that town and one of the local leaders in the movement that culminated in the American Revolution.

Entering Harvard College in the summer of 1792, young Winthrop seems to have made himself more conspicuous than admired or beloved by the other undergraduates. We are told that "he had a mighty weak head,

was very vain, dressed in the extreme of fashion, the students saying he had false calves to his legs. He thought himself very great because his grandfather was Professor."[1] It is only fair to suggest that all this may have been merely the opinion of one man who did not like him. The records of the Faculty indicate merely that he was inclined to be absent from prayers and classes. By the beginning of his Senior year this tendency had become so pronounced that the President, Professors, and Tutors voted that "Winthrop, for neglect of College exercises, and for going out of town a number of times without leave . . . be admonished before this Body." Six months later they fined him $3.43 "for neglecting to enter his name in commons during one week and five days."[2] With the President and Fellows he appears to have stood pretty well; when his father requested that he be allowed to receive his Bachelor's degree with his class, in 1796, without being present at the Commencement exercises, the Corporation granted his petition. His father explained that John was "to go abroad on a ship of his, which will sail in a few days for Virginia and from thence to Europe."[3]

There seem to have been no complications three years later when Winthrop was a candidate for the degree of Master of Arts. Meanwhile he had traveled considerably more than most of his classmates. One of his distant relatives writing to another in January, 1800, remarked: "Our kinsman, Mr. John Winthrop, Jr., will probably pass a few days in N. Y. He has been a good deal in Europe and has visited that branch of our family which long resided in Ireland."[4]

John's father died in 1800, and John inherited more or less land in the District of Maine. About a year later we get a glimpse of him in Salem, Massachusetts, where he stopped to call on his Uncle James's friend the Reverend William Bentley. Under date of August 17, 1801, Mr. Bentley wrote in his Diary: "The eldest son and second daughter of John Winthrop were with me this day. He tells me that there are not so many of the name of Winthrop in the United States as there were in 30 years after the first settlement. That all branches are well known and that only 22 persons in the United States bear the name of Winthrop. His Father was the only son of Judge and Professor Winthrop that has married. They are going to visit their land and property in Maine."[5] In the following autumn (November 9, 1801) John married Ann ("Nancy") Halsey Hichborn, daughter of Colonel Benjamin Hichborn, of Dorchester, Massachusetts.[6] Colonel Hichborn, a graduate of

Harvard in the Class of 1768, resided in the Andrew Oliver house, later known as the Walter Baker mansion; it stood at the corner of Washington and Park Streets, Dorchester, and was torn down recently to make way for a schoolhouse. A photograph of it is reproduced in James H. Stark's *Loyalists of Massachusetts*, facing page 183.

The Winthrops made their home in Dorchester, and there Mrs. Winthrop died in June, 1813, at the age of thirty.[7] This loss seems to have bewildered and discouraged John. About three years later his Uncle William Winthrop, who lived in Cambridge, wrote that he heard that "John, after having unprofitably spent his time for several years, and got rid of his patrimonial property, has gone to Europe." And as he heard that John's brother Charles was living in Boston and not doing any better, he gave it as his opinion that this branch of the family was "nearly run out."[8] John *had* gone to Europe, though not perhaps to the Continent, and early in 1817 he wrote blithely to his uncle from Liverpool: "Since my arrival in England, I have made the acquaintance and been honored with the friendship of that branch of our family which Gov. Winthrop, as they suppose, left in Europe at the time of his emigration. Hon. Benj. Winthrop, who died four years ago, was Gov. of the Bank of England at the time of his death, and his children were connected, by marriage, with several of the Nobility and are among the most respectable society of London. They are much attached to the name and family. . . ." They had asked him a number of genealogical questions that were beyond him. Were they descended from Stephen "the grandson [*sic*] of the old Gov.," who emigrated with him and must have returned to England? They also wanted to know about Adam Winthrop who married the daughter of Lord Burnell. To have these points settled would mean much to these aristocratic relatives, for there was a strong possibility that before long they would be called upon to exhibit their pedigree in the House of Lords.[9] And one gets the impression that to be able to answer them would mean a great deal to this genteel American Winthrop, who found associating with the British gentry much more congenial than trying to support three children in Dorchester, Massachusetts.

After returning to his native country, Mr. Winthrop migrated to Baton Rouge, Louisiana, where his brother Adam was doing very well and whither his unmarried sister Harriet had recently gone, taking his children with her.[10] When he arrived there early in the summer of 1819, John Winthrop

was a very sick man. He died peacefully at Baton Rouge on July 21, 1819. A few days later his sister Harriet wrote: "John's exertions were too great for his strength and he sunk under them. He said he should die, from the first, and appeared perfectly resigned to the will of the Almighty—but his children distressed him. They are indeed Orphans, and he *knew* how much to be pitied."[11]

Among the death notices in the Boston *Columbian Centinel* of August 25, 1819, one finds: "At Baton Rouge, John Winthrop, Esq. formerly of this town. Mr. W. possessed fine talents, was educated at Cambridge, and was justly respected by those who knew him, for his highly cultivated mind and gentlemanly manners."

Children:

Annette Halsey, born in 1806, married John James De Wolf, M.D., of Bristol and Providence, Rhode Island, May 26, 1829,[12] had issue, and died in 1884.

John, born in or near Boston, August 27, 1809, became Colonel John Winthrop, and died without issue, March 12, 1886. See p. 411.

Adelaide Augusta, married the Reverend Thomas Vernon of Bristol and Newport, Rhode Island, May 24, 1831, and had issue.

References

1. John Langdon Sibley's "Manuscript Collections," II. 552; in the Harvard University Archives.
2. Harvard College Faculty Records (MS.), VI. 286, 308; in the Harvard University Archives.
3. Corporation Records, July 7, 1796; in the Harvard University Archives.
4. Winthrop Manuscripts (Massachusetts Historical Society), 30A. 9.
5. *The Diary of William Bentley, D.D.*, II. 384.
6. *Report of the Record Commissioners of the City of Boston, Containing Dorchester Births, Marriages, and Deaths to the End of 1835*, 333; Winthrop Papers (Boston Public Library), II. 17.
7. *Dorchester Births*, 362.
8. Winthrop Papers (Boston Public Library), II. 118.
9. *Ibid.*, II. 122.
10. *Ibid.*, III. 14.
11. *Ibid.*, II. 94.
12. The marriage dates of the Winthrop sisters are taken from James N. Arnold, *Vital Records of Rhode Island*, XX. 490.

ADAM[7] WINTHROP (*John*[6], *John*[5], *Adam*[4], *Adam*[3], *Adam*[2], *John*[1]) was born on May 19, 1781, presumably in Boston, Massachusetts, where his father was a substantial merchant. Entering Harvard College in the summer of 1796, he went through four years at Cambridge without attracting much attention, either favorable or unfavorable. About his studies and attendance at chapel he was increasingly easygoing until toward the end of his Senior year he achieved the distinction of being absent from prayers more often than any other student; when he was not actually absent, he was likely to be tardy. Less understandable was his careless treatment of books; the Faculty found it necessary to fine him thirty-three cents for abusing a volume of "Doddridge's Lectures," which we assume to have been Dr. Philip Doddridge's *A Course of Lectures on the Principal Subjects in Pneumatology, Ethics and Divinity*.[1] However, Adam Winthrop became a Bachelor of Arts at Commencement in 1800 and a Master of Arts three years later.

After Adam's name in John Langdon Sibley's manuscript collection of memoranda about graduates of Harvard, one comes upon the following interesting bit of information or misinformation: "son of John Winthrop of Boston, the rope maker, was inefficient, got in debt, and his brothers got some one to sue him and put him in jail at Concord, where they paid his board for a year and a half; he, having a little property or claim, was unable to swear out. They finally let him out to go to New Orleans, hoping he would die there. He went to Baton Rouge, became a clerk of the courts there."[2]

There is more or less truth in this unsympathetic sketch of Adam Winthrop's varied career. In 1803 he was a young lawyer in Boston, and was well regarded by other members of the Suffolk Bar.[3] In the *Boston Directory* of 1805 he is listed as "attorney, Congress Street"; in that of 1807 his name does not appear. In January, 1810, Adam went to New Orleans; soon after his arrival he wrote to his Uncle William, "As everything depends on my Creditors' not knowing where I am, I hope you will use your endeavors to baffle their enquiries." A few months later he remarked, "I can never desire to see home again and suffer the embarassments I did for 4 years."[4]

He regarded Squire William Winthrop as his best friend, and his feeling for this bachelor uncle's house and household in Cambridge was tender and abiding. His early letters from Louisiana always contain inquiries that betray a homesick heart: How is "Nabby" (Squire Winthrop's housekeeper)?

How are things going at Christ Church? Who is the new minister? And who plays the organ there now? Adam was very fond of music and had copied a Christmas anthem into a book used by the organists of that church. After he had been in the South more than a year and a half he wrote Uncle William, "I often think of how many a pleasant Sunday I have spent with you at Dinner and at Church"; and even after eight long years lay between him and New England, he wrote: "There used to be some large white lilies which grew very high in the garden of the house you lived in when I was at Cambridge, where I believe Mr. Willard lives now. If you could send me 2 or 3 of them, I should like it, as I have never seen one in this country."[5] Ever since the death of his parents in 1800 the house in Cambridge had been home to Adam, and he appears to have been staying there when his brother John notified his uncle on January 9, 1810: "I have this moment agreed for Adam's passage direct for New Orleans. Vessell to sail on Thursday morning. I have his coat and pantaloons, but cannot find a vest of the kind he described to me." The vessel was the brig *William*,—Captain Woodbury, master,—and she lay at Charlestown, near Gray's Wharf.[6]

After a voyage of fifty-seven days Adam Winthrop arrived in New Orleans, where he soon found employment in the office of "Mr. Grymes, U.S. Attorney." A few months later he migrated up the Mississippi to Baton Rouge. In order to do this he had to borrow $50 from a Yankee skipper, Captain Hall, who was assured that he would be reimbursed by Squire William Winthrop upon his return to Boston. It is pleasant to relate that not only was Captain Hall reimbursed, but, as things turned out, Adam's drawing on his uncle's good nature and generosity was amply justified.

Baton Rouge was then in West Florida, a remote corner of the decaying Spanish Empire, but it was dominated by Americans who had settled there. "That country," wrote Adam to his uncle, "is in a state of revolution; and as soon as they form an independent government, there will be many offices to fill and I hope to be able to procure some one." Armed with a letter of recommendation from Mayor Mather of New Orleans, Adam reached Baton Rouge on November 3, 1810, about six weeks after the revolutionists had declared West Florida to be "a free and independent State," and in an incredibly short time he found himself holding "the offices of Keeper of the Archives, Clerk of the House of Representatives, and Assistant Clerk of the Superior Court, all at the same time."[7] When the United States government

stepped in and took over the administration of this part of West Florida, he was promptly turned out of all these offices.

But Adam Winthrop liked Baton Rouge, which he termed "the most beautiful and healthy spot on the River"; furthermore, it was growing very rapidly; and as he was able to make a living there by practising law, he stayed on. Before long he was appointed Clerk of the Superior Court, and toward the end of 1814 he wrote, "I am tolerably situated here, my office giving me a handsome living and allowing me to lay up something." In 1816 he built him a house and urged his sister Harriet, an impecunious Boston spinster, to "come on here and live with me."[8] (About this time well-to-do Uncle William wrote him, "Harriet's fortune, I hear, is nearly exhausted, and what will become of her when it is gone I know not."[9]) Adam was now well established in Baton Rouge; besides being Clerk of the Superior Court, he was a Justice of the Peace and one of the "administrators" of the local academy, "a small but pleasant College on the banks of the Mississippi." He liked the climate; what he missed was the intelligent and refined society he had known in Boston, and he was ever looking forward to revisiting New England.[10]

In the autumn of 1817, or during the ensuing winter, Mr. Winthrop's sister Harriet arrived in Baton Rouge, bringing with her the three children of their brother John, who was spending his time, and what little money he still had, in England. It seems to have been a very happy arrangement while it lasted: Adam liked the children, and his friends were very cordial to Harriet. Now he really had a home. But after his brother John's death, which occurred in 1819, Miss Winthrop and the children returned to Boston, where they were well provided for by another sister and her husband, Mr. and Mrs. James Andrews. Adam remained in Baton Rouge and was a life-long bachelor.[11]

In 1826, about a year after the death of his Uncle William, Mr. Winthrop was elected a Corresponding Member of the Massachusetts Historical Society, and it should be added that he proved to be a useful member: in 1838 he sent in an interesting communication concerning the manuscript Journal of La Salle, and in 1840 he made at least one donation.[12]

Under "Died" in the Boston *Daily Advertiser* of December 7, 1846, one finds: "At his residence, near New Orleans, at 4 o'clock P.M., 25th ult. Adam Winthrop, Esq. 68. Mr. Winthrop was of the Boston branch of the

family of that name, and had been nearly forty years a resident of the State of Louisiana. He was graduated at Harvard University in the year 1800. His remains will be conveyed to the family vault in Boston, for interment."

References

1. Harvard College Faculty Records (Ms.), VII. 105, 112.
2. Sibley's "Manuscript Collections," II. 559; in the Harvard University Archives.
3. Massachusetts Historical Society *Proceedings*, XIX. 177, 178.
4. Winthrop Papers (Boston Public Library), II. 40, 48.
5. *Ibid.*, II. 57, 58; III. 20.
6. *Ibid.*, II. 12.
7. *Ibid.*, II. 40, 45, 57.
8. *Ibid.*, II. 57, 77, 84, 106.
9. *Ibid.*, II. 118.
10. *Ibid.*, II. 90, 107.
11. *Ibid.*, III. 14, 21, 39.
12. Massachusetts Historical Society *Proceedings*, I. 388; II. 181, 117.

CHARLES[7] WINTHROP (*John*[6], *John*[5], *Adam*[4], *Adam*[3], *Adam*[2], *John*[1]), the youngest son of John and Sarah (Phillips) Winthrop, was born in Boston, Massachusetts, on March 13, 1791. Misfortune was his lot even from childhood's hour. In 1800, before he was ten years old, he lost both his parents in rapid succession, and was entrusted to the care of a guardian, who seems to have lived in Roxbury; for one reason or another neither of his bachelor uncles, James and William Winthrop, of Cambridge, was appointed guardian. When he was thirteen years old, he was sent away to school at Phillips Academy, Andover, and two years later he was admitted to Harvard College in the Class of 1810.[1]

During his Freshman year Charles seems to have behaved pretty well; but as a Sophomore he became increasingly easygoing, and by the middle of his Junior year the Faculty had had enough of him. On March 1, 1809, it voted that the President be requested to write to Winthrop's guardian respecting his character and conduct and to advise "the dissolution of his connexion with the College."[2] Evidently the connection was dissolved, for

Charles's name does not appear in any subsequent Catalogue or in the Quinquennial Catalogue of Harvard graduates. Thus at eighteen the parentless boy was more or less turned loose in the world.

All that Charles Winthrop did during the next ten or fifteen years is not easily discovered. In 1813 the *Boston Directory* listed him as a lumber dealer at Balch's Wharf; in 1820 he resided at 13 Pinckney Street, but his trade or profession, if any, is not divulged. From 1821 to 1823 his address was 8 Old State House, but the *Directory* does not tell us what he did there. *The Biographical Catalogue of Phillips Academy* classifies him as a lawyer; that may have been one of his vocations, and 8 Old State House his office. Letters written by his uncle, Squire William Winthrop of Cambridge, suggest that he tried various pursuits with uniform lack of success. In 1816 Uncle William observed, "Charles is in Boston and not doing any better"; and in 1818: "I hardly know what to say of Charles. I have seen him but once, for about a year, and then it was in a situation where we could not speak to each other. I sometimes hear of him, and the last was that he kept a boarding house for the accommodation of *young Ladies* in the purlieus of a *noted Hill at New Boston.** This, if true, must be a very respectable employment for a Grandson of Doct. Winthrop! Charles is not generally tho't to be wanting in capacity, and I have heard it lamented that more attention was not paid to his education and early conduct in life. Had he been fortunate enough to have selected a person for his Guardian who had leisure to attend to his behaviour, and resolution enough to control any vicious propensities he might discover in his youth, Charles might have made an useful and perhaps a respectable man. But not much good could be expected from the superintendence and management of that *Sub-Guardian* he had, who, in the opinion of some, stood full as much in need of a Guardian as himself."[3]

In 1821 Charles Winthrop had the dismal experience of being threatened with imprisonment for debt.[4] Doubtless his creditors expected that one or both of the well-to-do uncles in Cambridge would come forward with the requisite funds and protect the name of Winthrop even if they were not especially fond of this nephew. But Judge Winthrop and Squire Winthrop were not so disposed. Charles's best friend turned out to be his brother-in-law, James Andrews, a prosperous Boston merchant; on the strength of a bond given by Mr. Andrews, he escaped going to jail but was restricted to

* The West End was for many years called New Boston.

the limits of Boston. Now and then it occurred to Charles that his elderly Uncle William over in Cambridge might be moved to finance complete emancipation if he approached him in the right manner, and this he tried to do by writing him in his round, characterless hand a piteous letter about himself. But none of these epistles seems to have produced the desired result. The amount needed was $1000, and Uncle William had other uses for his money.[5]

How and when Charles Winthrop obtained his freedom, we do not know. His last appearance in the *Boston Directory* is in 1823. On May 9, 1835, the Boston *Daily Evening Transcript* informed its readers that he had died at Keene, New Hampshire; the date of his death was May 4.[6] He was unmarried.

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2. Harvard College Faculty Records, VIII. 183.
3. Winthrop Papers (Boston Public Library), II. 118; III. 21.
4. *Ibid.*, III. 41.
5. *Ibid.*, III. 41, 48.
6. *Vital Statistics of the Town of Keene, New Hampshire*, compiled by Frank H. Whitcomb, 246.

CHAPTER VIII

The Eighth Generation

HENRY ROGERS[8] WINTHROP (*John Still*[7], *Francis Bayard*[6], *John Still*[5], *John*[4], *Wait Still*[3], *John*[2], *John*[1]), the second son of John Still and Harriet (Rogers) Winthrop, was born in New York City on January 31, 1811. A memoir of him written by his son tells us: "He was fitted for college at Stamford, where his family then resided, and in the neighboring town of Norwalk, and entered Yale College in the fall of 1826, graduating four years later in the Class of 1830, at the head of his class. He studied law in New Haven, with David Daggett, first Kent Professor at Yale, and was admitted to the bar of New York in 1832. After reading law for a short time in the office of Johnson & Kent, where the distinguished ex-Chancellor [Kent] was then writing his commentaries, he formed a law partnership with William Templeton Johnson. Governor Seward appointed him a notary public, and he was soon given all the notarial business of the great banking house of Prime, Ward & King.*

"Some time before the outbreak of the Civil War, Mr. Winthrop dissolved his partnership with Mr. Johnson, and retired from general practice. He was made executor and trustee of many large estates, in the management of which he was unusually successful. His great business ability, his unfaltering judgment, his unswerving conservatism, and his high sense of honor made him an ideal trustee, and the fortunes committed to his charge were largely increased by his careful management.

"During the last twenty years of his life he gradually handed over his business to his son, Buchanan Winthrop, and for the past ten years [1886–1896] he only visited his office at rare intervals.

"He died on the 23d of October, 1896, simply and purely of old age.

"In politics, Mr. Winthrop was an ardent admirer of Henry Clay, a Republican from the earliest formation of the party, and he remained faithful to the day of his death. He was one of the oldest members of the Century Association, and one of the original members of this—the Bar Association."[1]

On November 20, 1838, Mr. Winthrop married Margaret Louisa Hicks,

* A protest book kept by Winthrop, between March 1, 1836, and March 3, 1843, is in the Library of the Harvard Business School.

one of the daughters of Thomas and Martha (Buchanan) Hicks.[2] The Hicks family had been substantial people on Long Island since the middle of the seventeenth century. Margaret's grandfather, Whitehead Hicks, was Mayor of New York during the early years of the American Revolution and later a justice of the highest New York court; like the Winthrops and the Rogerses he was at least a halfway Loyalist, but kept sufficiently near the middle of the road to avoid serious trouble with either of the combatant parties. The family seat was at Bayside, Long Island.[3] Her mother's family, the Buchanans, formerly owned a large and highly remunerative tract of land on Manhattan Island.[4]

For a number of years the Winthrops lived at 25 Bond Street; shortly before the outbreak of the Civil War they moved to the east side of Fifth Avenue, near Thirtieth Street; and after his wife's death, which occurred in 1873, Mr. Winthrop's home was at 35 West Twentieth Street.

Henry Rogers Winthrop was identified with various appropriate societies in New York. As early as 1838 he was elected a member of the New England Society, and he continued to belong to it for the remainder of his life—almost sixty years. He was a resident member of the New York Historical Society, and he was at one time a trustee of the New York Society Library. Membership in the Association of the Bar of the City of New York, the Century Association, and the National Academy of Design reflected his professional, social, and artistic interests. He was also a member of the Yale Chapter of Phi Beta Kappa.[5]

Mrs. Winthrop died on February 26, 1873. In the autumn of 1875 Mr. Winthrop married Miss Mary Jones Gelston, daughter of Maltby Gelston, of New York. Mr. Winthrop died at his country place at Far Rockaway, Long Island, on October 23, 1896, and was buried in the St. John and St. Andrew's Episcopal Cemetery in Stamford, Connecticut; he was eighty-five years old. "He resided throughout life in New York and used the advantages conferred by a distinguished ancestry and high social position for the advancement of nobler ideals in the community."[6]

Children, both by his first wife:

Harriet Rogers, born December 14, 1839; married, September 15, 1870, Haslett McKim (A.B., Harvard College, 1866), had issue, and died October 31, 1920.

Thomas Buchanan (known as Buchanan), born November 11, 1841, gradu-

ated from Yale in 1862, and Columbia Law School in 1864. He married Sarah Helen Townsend, had issue, and died December 25, 1900. See p. 414.

References

1. Association of the Bar of the City of New York, *Twenty-Eighth Annual Report* (1898), 101–102.
2. *Obituary Record of Graduates of Yale University*, Fourth Series, 431.
3. Benjamin F. Thompson, *History of Long Island* (1918), III. 471–473.
4. *Reports . . . of the Century Association for the Year 1900*, 49.
5. *Ninetieth Celebration of the New England Society in the City of New York*, 115; New York Historical Society *Collections*, Second Series, I. 476; Austin Baxter Keep, *History of the New York Society Library*, 444*n*.; *Prominent Families of New York*, 631.
6. Josephine C. Frost, *Ancestors of Henry Rogers Winthrop and his Wife, Alice Woodward Babcock*, 14–15; *Obituary Record of Graduates of Yale University*, Fourth Series, 431.

JOHN STILL[8] WINTHROP (*John Still*[7], *Francis Bayard*[6], *John Still*[5], *John*[4], *Wait Still*[3], *John*[2], *John*[1]), the third son of John Still and Harriet (Rogers) Winthrop, was born in New York City on February 11, 1813. Unlike his father and his older brother Henry, John did not go to college. He grew up in New York City and in Stamford, Connecticut, became a clerk in Gracie & Co., importers of choice wines and English beer and porter, and later a clerk in the banking establishment of Prime, Ward & King. In 1845 he was a broker at 24 Merchants Exchange; still a bachelor, he lived with his father on East Seventeenth Street between Fourth and Fifth Avenues.[1]

On October 29, 1846, Winthrop married Evelyn Susan Armistead, daughter of Richard Armistead of New Bern, North Carolina. The Armisteads were originally a Virginia family and had been in America since about 1635. Their men were apt to be military; one of them, Brigadier General Lewis Addison Armistead, lost his life at Gettysburg while leading part of Pickett's charge.

One account states that the marriage of John Still Winthrop and Susan Armistead took place in New York City, another that he married in North Carolina; however that may have been, they made their home in New Bern, North Carolina, where Mr. Winthrop died on May 8, 1860.

Children:

JOHN STILL, of Tallahassee, born in New Bern, North Carolina, March 31,

1848, married at St. Louis, October 14, 1874, Clemence Lilia Chouteau,[2] had issue, and died February 11, 1920. He resided in Tallahassee, Florida. See p. 416.

Edward Lee, born May 16, 1850, died in 1850.

Nathan Smith, born in 1854, died in the same year.

References

1. Walter Barrett, *Old Merchants of New York City*, Second Series, 323; *Doggett's New-York City Directory for 1845 & 1846.*

2. Her name appears in various forms in various publications. The version given in the text is taken from what appears to be the most reliable source,—*Five Year Record: Class of Nineteen Hundred and Five, Sheffield Scientific School, Yale University*, 144.

CHARLES EDWARD ROGERS[8] WINTHROP (*John Still*[7], *Francis Bayard*[6], *John Still*[5], *John*[4], *Wait Still*[3], *John*,[2] *John*[1]), the fourth son of John Still[7] and Harriet (Rogers) Winthrop, was born in New York City on October 8, 1818. Of the five boys in the family, he seems to have been the one most imbued with the pioneer spirit. Though brought up in affluence in New York City and in Stamford, Connecticut, when he was about thirty years old he chose to go West. He did so, and built himself a log house in Paradise Prairie, Illinois, in 1839. On May 24, 1842, he married Delilah Lipe. Their home seems to have been in Tamaroa, Perry County, Illinois. In 1869 he was appointed judge of the County Court. Judge Winthrop died in Illinois on June 26 or 27, 1888. A photograph of him is reproduced in Ellery Kirke Taylor's *The Lion and the Hare*, chart G.[1]

Children:

Harriet Rogers, born November 24, 1841, died October 26, 1847.

JOHN STILL, of Illinois, born October 21, 1844, married Mary A. Padrick, October 22, 1868, had issue, and died July 19, 1896. See p. 418.

CHARLES EDWARD ROGERS, born July 10, 1847, married at Mulkeytown, Illinois, Nancy J. Kirkpatrick (1853–1936), had issue, and died July 2, 1877. See p. 418.

Delilah, born in May, 1849, married Richard A. Hampleman, had issue, and died February 14, 1881. Her home was in Tamaroa, Illinois.

HENRY ROGERS, born August 30, 1852, married Martha Hudson, October 18, 1876, had issue, and died January 18, 1932. He lived in Tamaroa, Illinois, and was sheriff of Perry County. See p. 419.

Emily C., born in 1855, died in 1857.

Ellen, born December 3, 1857, married Zebedee Hampleman, and died December 3, 1885.

Esther, born July 26, 1860, married William D. Eaton, Jr., of Christopher, Illinois, September 24, 1875, had issue, and died November 26, 1882.

Susan, born July 11, 1864, married William D. Eaton, Jr., March 19, 1884, had issue, and died in 1938. They resided in Duquoin, Illinois.

References

1. For data here and elsewhere concerning the Illinois branch of the Winthrop Family, the present writer wishes to acknowledge his indebtedness to Mr. Ellery Kirke Taylor, whose genealogical compilation entitled *The Lion and the Hare* is a remarkable work.

EDWARD[8] WINTHROP (*Francis Bayard*[7], *Francis Bayard*[6], *John Still*[5], *John*[4], *Wait Still*[3], *John*[2], *John*[1]), the elder son of Francis Bayard and Julia Ann (Rogers) Winthrop, was born in New York City on December 19, 1811. Like his father and his great-grandfather, Edward attended Yale College, where he was a member of Phi Beta Kappa and graduated in 1831 with the degree of Bachelor of Arts. As his own mother died when he was less than three years old, Edward was brought up by his stepmother, Elizabeth Woolsey Winthrop. One of her uncles was the first President Timothy Dwight of Yale, and one of her great-grandfathers was Jonathan Edwards; it is not unlikely that there was a strain of piety in her that made a lasting impression on young Edward Winthrop. Upon graduating from college, he studied theology at New Haven, at Andover, and in the Protestant Episcopal seminaries of New York and Alexandria, Virginia, and completed his preparation for the ministry at Lexington, Kentucky, where he was ordained by Bishop Smith.[1]

Mr. Winthrop began his career by being assistant to the Bishop in Christ Church, Lexington; he was also professor of Sacred Literature in the Episcopal Theological Seminary there. Subsequently he became rector of St. Paul's Church in Cincinnati (1842), St. Luke's in Marietta, Ohio (1843–1847), and St. Paul's in Norwalk, Ohio (1847). While he was at Norwalk, his voice gave out, and he had to forgo preaching; thereupon he became the principal of a female seminary in that town. In 1858 he was appointed rec-

tor of the conjoined parishes of Maumee, Napoleon, and Defiance, Ohio.

In June, 1862, Edward Winthrop took charge of St. John's at Highgate, Vermont, where he was rector until a short time before his death, October 21, 1865. He died in New York City and was buried in the Old Cemetery at New Haven.[2]

"Mr. Winthrop was a man of the highest attainments as a scholar. Marietta never had his equal. He was known as a Second Adventist, his preaching and writing being mostly upon that subject; and often when he would take up his favorite theme, he was so completely wrapt up in it and such was his control over the attention of his hearers that neither he nor they took note of the flight of time and two hours or more would sometimes slip by without their knowing it." He was a prolific writer: his *magnum opus*, "a complete translation of the New Testament with notes and criticisms on every page," was nearly completed at the time of his death; the manuscript was destroyed in the Chicago fire.[3]

A portrait of Edward Winthrop is reproduced in Wilson Waters's *History of St. Luke's Church, Marietta, Ohio*, page 141. He married thrice: (1) Marian Penner (or Penney), at Lexington, Kentucky, in 1837; she died on May 8, 1838. (2) Elizabeth Andras (or Andrus), of Bath, England, who died on August 30, 1858, at Maumee City, Ohio. (3) Wilhelmina Evert, about 1862; she survived him and resided at Chelsea, Massachusetts.

Child, by his first wife:

Marian Juliana, born May 2, 1838, married Samuel Gale Taylor, of Chicago, July 11, 1866, had issue, and died March 1, 1926. A photograph of her is reproduced in Ellery Kirke Taylor's *The Lion and the Hare*, chart G.

References

1. *Obituary Record of Graduates of Yale College Deceased from July, 1859, to July, 1870*, 207–208.
2. *History of Franklin and Grand Isle Counties, Vermont* (edited by Lewis Cass Aldrich), 610.
3. Wilson Waters, *The History of St. Luke's Church, Marietta, Ohio*, 140–151.

CHARLES ARCHIBALD[8] WINTHROP (*Francis Bayard*[7], *Francis Bayard*[6], *John Still*[5], *John*[4], *Wait Still*[3], *John*[2], *John*[1]), the younger son of Francis Bayard and Julia Ann (Rogers) Winthrop, was born in New York City

on January 25, 1813; but before he entered college his father had moved to New Haven. The name Charles is traceable to his uncle, Thomas Charles Winthrop; and Archibald to his mother's brother, Archibald Rogers. In accordance with the tradition in his branch of the family, he attended Yale College,—but only for a year or two. After that he probably spent more or less time in Hartford, for the records of Christ Church there show that he was one of its communicants in October, 1833.[1]

In 1844 Mr. Winthrop married Jeannette Bradley, of New Haven,[2] and became a farmer in Tioga, New York. About 1860 he moved to Owego, New York, and in September, 1869, to Cambridge, Massachusetts. He married three times. His second marriage, which was to Mary Boyer, of Caroline, Tompkins County, New York, occurred in 1848. His third, which was to Mary Codman Gray, of Boston, took place on December 14, 1854. Because of this Mrs. Winthrop's health, he moved to Cambridge in 1869, where he died on June 5, 1884.[3] In 1879 Yale conferred on him both the degree of A.B. and the degree of A.M. The reason for this is not clear; but the fact explains the inclusion of his name under the Class of 1832 in Yale Triennial Catalogues since 1880. He left no descendants.

References

1. *Contributions to the History of Christ Church, Hartford*, II. 207.
2. "Married New Haven June 17th 1844 Charles A Winthrop of Orange N Y to Jennett Bradly of New Haven. By me, Harry Crosswell, Rector of Trinity Church, New Haven." *Vital Records of New Haven, 1649–1850*, Part II. 944. Mrs. Jeannette Winthrop died in September, 1846, aged twenty-nine. *Ibid.*, Part II. 833.
3. *Obituary Record of Graduates of Yale College*, Third Printed Series, 179; *Biographical Memoranda respecting All who ever were Members of the Class of 1832 in Yale College*, 297.

THEODORE[8] WINTHROP (*Francis Bayard*[7], *Francis Bayard*[6], *John Still*[5], *John*[4], *Wait Still*[3], *John*[2], *John*[1]), the elder son of Francis Bayard and Elizabeth (Woolsey) Winthrop, was born in New Haven, Connecticut, on September 22, 1828.[1] His father was a retired New York merchant who enjoyed living quietly in the town of his *alma mater*, surrounded by a family of interesting children; he had an excellent library, a few good pictures, and a taste for natural history as well. Mrs. Winthrop was a niece of

Theodore Winthrop

the first President Dwight of Yale, and a great-granddaughter of Jonathan Edwards. She was a great reader, and now and then wrote a bit of verse. One of her brothers, Theodore Dwight Woolsey, for whom this boy was named, was a prominent member of the Yale Faculty and in the course of time became president of the College.

Theodore Winthrop prepared for college at "the good, sound school of Silas French" and was admitted to Yale a few weeks before his fifteenth birthday. He got through his Freshman year without any major catastrophe, but his Sophomore year, while it lasted, was a different matter. Early in November he was dismissed from College for breaking Freshmen's windows. As his father had died when the boy was in school, the question of what to do with Theodore had to be decided principally by his mother. She sent him out to Marietta, Ohio, where his half brother Edward, who was much older than he, presided over the local Episcopal church. In 1844 Yale re-admitted him and he began to do better. He attributed his reformation to his falling in love with a young lady whom he did not know and with whom he never exchanged a word. As Theodore Winthrop was both romantic and highly sensitive to beauty, this may well have been the immediate cause of his regeneration. At any rate, rather suddenly he became a changed boy. He "experienced religion," wrote long, introspective, sometimes morbid entries in his journal, dreamed of becoming a poet, read much, and did well in his studies. By the time he graduated, in 1848, he had been elected to Phi Beta Kappa and appointed Clark Scholar for the following year. The Clark award was made annually to the Senior who passed "the best examination on the studies of the College course"; it might be held only by a graduate "pursuing a course of study (not professional) under the direction of the Faculty." It was well that Winthrop won this competition, for he had tried for the Berkeley Scholarship and had had the misfortune to lose it: he and his classmate Colton, being even up, had drawn lots for the award—and Colton had won.[2] At Commencement Theodore delivered an oration on a very appropriate subject, presumably chosen by himself: "The Study of the Beautiful necessary to a Liberal Education."

A graduate student at twenty, Winthrop well nigh wore himself out with study, ambition, and emotion. His temperament seldom allowed him to progress on even keel; enjoyment was ecstasy, and depression was utter dejection. Fortunately he was fond of rowing, skating, and walking. Physical

exercise helped to preserve his over-active mind, and the beauty of Nature often restored a soul tormented by introspection. But he read and read, wrote and wrote, until the spring of 1849 found him "quite good for nothing, and at times quite desperate." He had planned to spend the following academic year at the Harvard Law School, but fearful that he would not be able to stand up under another period of intensive study, he wisely gave this up and decided to travel in Europe instead. "It seemed," he wrote in his journal, "the only way which united the recovery of my health with the prospect of mental improvement."

To Europe he went, sailing in the Liverpool packet, *Margaret Evans*, toward the end of July, 1849. His response to everything he saw in England was almost incredible. His first view of Westminster Abbey moved him so much that he did not trust himself to go inside! On the morrow he visited St. Paul's and spent the rest of the day lying under the trees in Hyde Park. "Whether it is not being strong," he wrote, "or what, I do not know, but the sight of all these places has so much effect on me that I cannot refrain from tears, and I was able among the trees of the Park to give them full flow." He was entranced by the beauty of the English countryside, loved Scotland, and when it came time to go over to the Continent he was tempted to return to America instead: "I have seen things and people, already, enough to last me all my life."

In Paris things did not go so well. He was ill and dispirited a good deal of the time. But he was fortunate in having old friends there,—William Hunt, the artist, and his brother Richard, who was studying architecture. He was fortunate, too, in becoming acquainted with William H. Aspinwall, a great New York merchant, then sojourning in Paris. Mr. Aspinwall was much taken with Theodore, and his interest in him determined to a certain extent the course of Winthrop's life in later years. After visiting Italy, Greece, Switzerland, Germany, and Holland, he returned to America early in the winter of 1850–51.

One of the things that had chronically troubled the mind of Theodore Winthrop was uncertainty as to what he should choose for a career. Sometimes he wanted to go into politics, sometimes to be a poet, sometimes a man of action; at one time he even thought he would like to stay in Europe and enter diplomatic life. After his return to New Haven the question became acute, and was happily solved by Mr. Aspinwall who found a place for him

in the New York office of his Pacific Mail Steamship Company, which operated a line of mail steamers from the Isthmus of Panama to booming California and had been making enormous profits. Mr. Aspinwall probably realized that Winthrop's talent was not for business; but he liked and trusted this exuberant young man, and was glad to have him in his organization.

After a few months in the office Winthrop was sent to Europe to choose a school in Switzerland for Mr. Aspinwall's son and nephew and place them in it. In the summer of 1852, he was sent to the Company's office in Panama, where he was to make himself generally useful. This he did for six months and was, for the most part, surprisingly contented there. But in the course of time he became restless, and in March, 1853, he started for California on one of the Company's ships. From crude, bustling San Francisco he sailed up the coast to Oregon and Washington, where he delighted in the magnificent forests and the superb mountains. Mt. Rainier especially moved him, and in recognition of his appreciation of its solemn beauty one of the great ice-fields on its eastern slope has been named "Winthrop Glacier."[3] In spite of the misfortune of having a mild case of smallpox while in this region, he was fascinated by the Northwest. "This Oregon," he wrote, "is a noble country! . . . It would take but little to induce me to give up the old country and live here, but my unhappy, unsettled disposition is always in the way." He cruised about Vancouver Island, visited Victoria, made a trip to some coal mines on Bellingham Bay, and early in September set out across the Continent for St. Louis. In his own poetic language: "For two months I rode, with days sweet and cloudless, and every night I bivouacked beneath the splendor of unclouded skies. And in all that period, when I was so near to Nature, the great lessons of the wilderness deepened into my heart by day, the hedges of conventionalism withered away from my horizon, and all the pedantries of scholastic thought perished out of my mind forever."

After visiting his friend and classmate Henry Hitchcock at St. Louis he continued on his homeward way and reached New Haven on November 28. About a month later he was off for Central America again, this time as a volunteer in a United States Commission to survey a proposed canal route across the Isthmus of Darien, about sixty miles east of Panama. As things turned out, this expedition provided a good deal of adventure and excitement for its members, but no workable site for a ship canal. In March, 1854, Winthrop was in New Haven again, with his mind full of literary possibili-

ties but with little else to place on the credit side of the five and a half years that had elapsed since he graduated from college.

Soon after his return he began to study law with Mr. Charles Tracy of New York; and about this time his mother moved to Staten Island, where the Winthrop household soon included Theodore, his brother William, and their brother-in-law W. Templeton Johnson. The three young men were congenial and enjoyed rowing and taking long walks together. In the summer of 1855, Theodore was admitted to the bar, and soon thereafter he and his brother spent some delightful weeks at Mount Desert in company with Mr. Tracy, the artist Frederick E. Church, and about twenty-five other persons. They were among the first "rusticators" ever beheld by the "natives" of that excitingly beautiful island. Reflections of this outing may be easily recognized in the pages of Winthrop's novel *Mr. Waddy's Return*, which was begun about this time. The summer of 1856 found him in Maine again, not at Somesville but at the Rangeley Lakes; this was the finale of several weeks of camping and fishing that had begun in the Adirondacks. That was an election year and the recently founded Republican party had a candidate for the presidency, John C. Frémont. Winthrop was an ardent Republican, and while in Maine he made a number of political speeches before small assemblies of farmers and lumbermen. After returning to Staten Island he continued to work for the cause by speaking here and there during the campaign. Then he turned his back on New York and went to St. Louis to become the partner of his friend Henry Hitchcock, who was already well established as a lawyer in that city.

Socially St. Louis was a delightful place; but when warm weather came on, the climate proved to be too much for Winthrop's health. Back to New York he went and opened an office, first at 18 William Street and later at 50 Exchange Place. While in St. Louis he had fallen in love with a young lady, but she was not equally attracted to him. However, after rejecting him in St. Louis she spent the following winter in New York, where they became engaged to be married. Winthrop was very happy until a few months later when the lady changed her mind again and suddenly broke off the engagement. His novels *Cecil Dreeme* and *Edwin Brothertoft* show the effect of this disappointment, and it is safe to say that he worked off a good deal of his grief in writing stories and poems, for he wrote much and was forever recasting and revising in the hope of producing something that would be satis-

factory to himself. Apparently he got little encouragement from publishers; one of them was sufficiently interested in the manuscript of *John Brent* to agree to take it if the author would delete one episode which might give offense to Southerners; but this the author would not do. The first recognition he won was from James Russell Lowell, then editor of the *Atlantic Monthly*. In the winter of 1861 Winthrop sent him a somewhat long short-story entitled "Love and Skates." The title was a little flat, but it does not seem to have troubled Mr. Lowell. He accepted the story with enthusiasm and planned to publish it in the June number. Actually it came out in January and February of 1862. Too much happened in the spring of 1861 to make it appropriate to bring it out at the time originally intended.

When the Civil War broke out in April, 1861, both Theodore Winthrop and his brother William joined the Seventh Regiment of New York Militia and on the afternoon of April 19 marched down Broadway on their way to the defense of the national capital. Their progress on this journey is admirably described by Winthrop in "New York Seventh Regiment. Our March to Washington," which appeared in the June issue of the *Atlantic Monthly*. That article and its sequel "Washington as a Camp," which came out in the following month, are probably the best pieces of writing he ever did and make one feel that he would have done well to choose journalism instead of *belles-lettres* for his career. Both pieces are extraordinarily alive. Probably no other bits of Civil War literature reproduce quite so truly the atmosphere of New York and Washington in the first six weeks of that conflict. Winthrop's exuberance is boyish without being puerile, and much of the freshness of the narrative may be attributed to the fact that the articles were written under pressure and with little or no time for meticulous revision; they went to the printer "right off the bat." Well worth reading today, they will be worth reading a hundred years from now. The youth in them is eternal.

In Washington the Seventh was quartered for a week or so in the Capitol, specifically in the chamber of the Representatives, where the boys from New York slept under the desks and in the galleries and occasionally amused themselves by mounting the Speaker's desk and making speeches; it was all a great lark. Later on they occupied "the villa and farm of Dr. Stone, two miles due north of Willard's Hotel," and called the place Camp Cameron. There were occasional alarms and a few excursions; and then, soon after its thirty days in the Federal service had expired, the Seventh Regiment de-

cided that Washington had been saved and that it might as well return to New York,—which it did.

But Theodore Winthrop did not go back with it. In spite of his apparent light-heartedness, he meant business. Both he and his brother were out for a campaign, not for a picnic.

He went to see Secretary Seward, who introduced him to President Lincoln saying, "This is Mr. Winthrop, a scholar and a gentleman; you must make a lieutenant of him."[4] But everything was very uncertain. Meanwhile his immediate hopes centered on a very strange person, General Benjamin F. Butler, of Massachusetts, who had just been placed in charge of the Department of Virginia. "He is a character," wrote Winthrop to his sister, "and really was the man who saved Washington by devising the march to Annapolis—a place which nobody had heard of." In one way or another Theodore had contrived to meet Butler in Washington, and the General had suggested that if he would come down to his headquarters at Fortress Monroe he would find something for him to do. So it came about that toward the end of May Winthrop found himself at Fortress Monroe, where he was a member of Butler's staff and "acting as his Military Secretary, *pro tem.*" Though he was still a private and wore the gray uniform of a private in the Seventh Regiment of New York Militia, he seems to have held the courtesy rank of major.

Wherever General Butler was there was apt to be action of one kind or another, and before daybreak on the morning of June 10 two detachments were sent out to attack an annoying nest of rebels about eight miles northwest of Fortress Monroe. According to General Butler, the expedition was "partly suggested" by Winthrop, "who entered into the necessary preparations for it with such alacrity, cool judgment and careful foresight in all the details that might render it successful, as gave great promise of future usefulness in his chosen profession."[5] Quite naturally Theodore wished to go with the troops and see the plan carried out. When he asked permission to do so, Butler suggested that his correspondence was heavy and that he would be needed at headquarters. To this Winthrop replied playfully, "Oh, General, we will all work extra hours and make up that when we get back. The affair can't go on without me, you know." So it was settled that he might go. At the conference at which final instructions were given out the General said to those immediately in charge, "Be as brave as you please, but run no

risks." Whereupon Winthrop, adapting a familiar passage in Spenser's *Faerie Queene*, acquiesced with, "Be bold, be bold, but not too bold, shall be our motto."

The plan seems to have been this: if, after driving the enemy back from a small church called Little Bethel, they were certain of being able to capture a battery near a larger church called Big Bethel, they might attempt it; otherwise, not. The scheme may have been good, but it was sadly bungled in execution. In the early morning darkness, one detachment mistook the other for the enemy and fired upon it mercilessly. This was a bad beginning, but upon recovering from it the troops pushed forward to Little Bethel which they found deserted. In accordance with instructions they burned the church there and pressed on toward the works near Big Bethel, some six or seven miles away. This part of the program was not so simple: in the first place, there was a battery there; and in the second place, a woman at a farmhouse on the way had disturbed the commanding officers by estimating that the works were garrisoned by about 4000 men,—which was a considerably larger number than they had contemplated meeting. And finally, the day was very hot and the men were tired.[6]

The fighting began about ten o'clock and lasted about two hours and a half.* About noon Winthrop and a reporter attempted a little reconnoitring, stuck their heads out from behind some underbrush, were greeted by a shower of bullets, and decided to withdraw a little way into the woods. Winthrop threw himself down behind a tree, saying that if he could only get five minutes of sleep he would be all right,—and adding that he intended to see the inside of the enemy's intrenchment before he went back to headquarters. A little later, having delivered a message from one officer to another, "he took his rifle and, while his guide held his horse in woods in the rear, with too daring bravery went to the front."[7] There he found himself in the midst of some New England troops who were about to make an assault on the Confederate redoubt. Reconnoitring to discover the best way of entering the battery when they should reach it, he mounted a log in order to get a better view. That made him, of course, a perfect mark for the enemy. A North Carolina drummer-boy seized a rifle and shot him through the heart.

Winthrop died almost immediately, in the arms of a Vermont private. As

* For a diagram and lucid account of the action at Big Bethel, the reader is referred to James Parton's *General Butler in New Orleans*, 143–148.

he had fallen so near the rebel works, his body was left on the field of battle and on the morrow was buried by the enemy.[8] According to his friend and eulogist, George William Curtis, who was not present, the final scene of Winthrop's life was as dramatic as it was heroic: "For one moment that brave, inspiring form is plainly visible to his whole country, rapt and calm, standing upon the log nearest the enemy's battery, the mark of their sharpshooters, the admiration of their leaders, waving his sword, cheering his fellow-soldiers with his bugle voice of victory,—young, brave, beautiful, for one moment erect and glowing in the wild whirl of battle, the next falling forward toward the foe, dead, but triumphant."[9]

A few days later his brother William came down from Washington and with a flag of truce passed through the Confederate lines to recover Theodore's body. "I had it disinterred," wrote the commanding officer of the rebels, "and escorted by a detachment of artillery and a troop of dragoons to a farm-house beyond our works, where it was delivered . . . with military honors to the deceased."[10] When it arrived in New York, four companies of the Seventh Regiment escorted it through the city on its way to New Haven for burial. At New Haven, on June 28, 1861, "with unusual demonstrations of respect from military, civic, and academic bodies, and from the people at large it was laid to rest in the burial place of his father."[11]

Theodore Winthrop's two or three articles in the *Atlantic Monthly* plus his tragic and heroic end led directly to his attaining the prominence he had always hoped for in the literary world. Soon after his death Ticknor and Fields, of Boston, considered the situation, made a very shrewd guess as to its possibilities, and brought out five of his works in rapid succession: *Cecil Dreeme* in 1861, *John Brent* and *Edwin Brothertoft* in 1862, and *The Canoe and the Saddle* and *Life in the Open Air* in 1863. The first three are novels; the last two, personal narratives. Their immediate success is more easily understood than their popularity in later decades of the nineteenth century. *Cecil Dreeme* was in its nineteenth edition in 1866, and was reprinted by Dodd, Mead and Company as late as 1899. *John Brent* went through five editions in ten days, was in its sixteenth edition in 1866, and was considered worth re-issuing by Dodd, Mead and Company in 1899. In 1904 Henry Holt and Company ventured to publish *Mr. Waddy's Return*, a manuscript written by Winthrop about 1855; but the era of enthusiasm for his novels had passed.[12]

George William Curtis's memoir of Theodore Winthrop, which appeared originally in the *Atlantic Monthly* (August, 1861), is an eloquent tribute written by one who knew him intimately when he lived on Staten Island. *The Life and Poems of Theodore Winthrop* by his sister, Laura Winthrop Johnson, is, as its title implies, both a biography and a collection of his verse. In it Mrs. Johnson shows herself to have been a gifted writer as well as a sympathetic and appreciative sister. The frontispiece reproduces a crayon sketch of Winthrop by Rowse, taken when he was about thirty and in a serious mood. He was indeed fine-looking. The portrait reproduced in the present work is by an unidentified painter, and was probably done after the death of the subject; it is owned by Robert Winthrop, of New York. An interesting essay by Ellsworth Eliot, Jr., published in 1938, presents Winthrop and his writings as viewed by a biographer and critic of a later generation. There is also an excellent bibliography by Elbridge Colby.

Both the New York Public Library and Yale have collections of Theodore Winthrop manuscripts. The Houghton Library of Harvard University has four letters from him to James Russell Lowell: May 8, 10, 23, and 29, 1861.

References

1. September 22 is the date given by Winthrop's sister and by Winthrop himself (*The Life and Poems of Theodore Winthrop*, 2, 80), but the *Obituary Record of Graduates of Yale College Deceased from July, 1859, to July, 1870*, p. 41, gives September 21. The date given in the *Dictionary of American Biography* (September 28) is presumably a typographical error.
2. Laura Winthrop Johnson, *The Life and Poems of Theodore Winthrop*, 20.
3. Theodore Winthrop, *The Canoe and the Saddle* (Williams edition, 1913), 331.
4. Ellsworth Eliot, Jr., *Theodore Winthrop*, 28.
5. *Private and Official Correspondence of Gen. Benjamin F. Butler*, I. 137.
6. *The War of the Rebellion: A Compilation of the Official Records of the Union and Confederate Armies*, First Series, II. 84.
7. *Private and Official Correspondence of Gen. Benjamin F. Butler*, I. 136–137.
8. *Official Records of the Union and Confederate Armies*, First Series, II. 35; Laura Winthrop Johnson, *The Life and Poems of Theodore Winthrop*, 292; *Private and Official Correspondence of Gen. Benjamin F. Butler*, I. 136, 149.
9. Curtis's "Biographical Sketch of the Author" in Theodore Winthrop's *Cecil Dreeme*,—19.
10. *Official Records of the Union and Confederate Armies*, First Series, II. 938.
11. William Swinton, *History of the Seventh Regiment, National Guard, State of New York, during the War of the Rebellion*, 481; *Obituary Record of Graduates of Yale College Deceased from July, 1859, to July, 1870*, 41.
12. Elbridge Colby, *Bibliographical Notes on Theodore Winthrop, passim.*

WILLIAM [Woolsey][8] Winthrop (*Francis Bayard*[7], *Francis Bayard*[6], *John Still*[5], *John*[4], *Wait Still*[3], *John*[2], *John*[1]), the younger son of Francis Bayard and Elizabeth (Woolsey) Winthrop, was born on August 3, 1831, at New Haven, Connecticut. His father was a retired New York merchant with literary and artistic tastes and sufficient means to gratify them; his mother was a niece of the first President Dwight of Yale, and a great-granddaughter of Jonathan Edwards, one-time president of Princeton. The child appears to have been named for his maternal grandfather, William Walton Woolsey, a prominent New York merchant.[1] In later life he dropped his middle name, becoming simply William Winthrop.

On both sides the Yale tradition was strong, and to Yale "Billy" went in the summer of 1847; and from Yale College he graduated in 1851,—presumably with honors, for he was a member of Phi Beta Kappa and was awarded the Berkeley Scholarship for the following year. ("The Berkeley Scholarship, yielding about forty-six dollars a year, is awarded to the student in each Senior Class, who passes the best examination in the Greek Testament, Xenophon's Cyropaedia, and Homer's Iliad, Cicero's Tusculan Questions, Tacitus (except the Annals,) and Horace; provided he remains in New Haven as a graduate one, two or three years." *Yale Catalogue*, 1851–52.) His popularity is indicated by the fact that he was also elected Secretary of the Class of 1851.[2] Two years later he received his LL.B. from the Yale Law School. The training he got at New Haven was supplemented by about a year at the Harvard Law School (1853–54), during which period he was admitted to the bar in Boston. In the spring of 1854 Winthrop entered the office of the Honorable William J. Hubbard, at 30 Court Street, and began to practise law; he roomed at 140 Charles Street. During the summer of 1855 he joined his brother and a number of their friends in a month's vacation at Mount Desert Island, at that time an unsophisticated and almost unknown paradise.[3]

About 1860 William Winthrop moved to New York City and formed a partnership with his college classmate Robbins Little; their office was at 43 Wall Street. During his stay in Boston, his mother had moved from New Haven to Staten Island and he now made his home at the latter place. When the Civil War broke out, in the spring of 1861, Winthrop, as a private in the Seventh Regiment of the New York State Militia, was called into the service of the United States.[4] After an uncomfortable five or six weeks in

and around Washington, the Seventh returned to New York and was mustered out.

Winthrop, however, remained in Washington. Early in June he was summoned to Fortress Monroe to claim and bring back the body of his older brother, Theodore, who had been killed in a minor engagement (Big Bethel) near Hampton, Virginia.[5] Theodore had recently written, "Billy and I both want to be where we can make sure of the hard work of the campaign," and it was not long before "Billy" proved that he meant it by getting a commission (October 1, 1861) as first lieutenant in the First Regiment of the U. S. Sharpshooters. On September 22, 1862, he was made a captain in that organization. This promotion appears to have been well deserved, for in his official report of a skirmish that occurred near Sharpsburg, Maryland, on the afternoon of the nineteenth, Captain Isler made special mention of "Lieut. (now Capt.) W. W. Winthrop, who in leading the line was the first to set foot on Virginia soil."[6] Captain Winthrop continued with the Sharpshooters for two more years. In September, 1864, it seemed best to make more use of his legal training, and accordingly he was mustered out of the Sharpshooters on the sixteenth and appointed Major Judge-Advocate of Volunteers three days later. On March 13, 1865, he was breveted Colonel of Volunteers "for faithful and meritorious service in the field and in the Bureau of Military Justice."[7]

After the war Colonel Winthrop continued to be identified with the Army; in February, 1867, he was transferred to the permanent establishment and appointed Major Judge-Advocate; and in the summer of 1884 he became Deputy Judge-Advocate General with the rank of lieutenant-colonel.[8] His final promotion occurred in January, 1895, when he was made Assistant Judge-Advocate General with the rank of colonel.

From 1882 until 1885 Colonel Winthrop was Judge-Advocate of the Division of the Pacific; from 1886 to 1890 he was a professor in the Department of Law at the United States Military Academy at West Point. After that, until his retirement in 1895, he was on duty in the War Department.[9] In 1886 he published in two stout volumes a work entitled *Military Law*, which became a standard authority; a one-volume abridgment of it, "prepared with a special view to the instruction of the Cadets of the United States Military Academy," appeared in the following year and was "adopted by the Secretary of War, February 14, 1887, as the text-book on military

law in the law course of that institution."[10] He also compiled a *Digest of Opinions of the Judge-Advocates General of the Army*, and in his later years contributed to literary and scientific periodicals. Georgetown University conferred on him the honorary degree of Doctor of Laws in 1896.

William Winthrop married, on July 26, 1877, Miss Alice Worthington, but left no issue. He died suddenly from an acute attack of heart disease on April 9, 1899, while at Atlantic City, New Jersey. He was sixty-seven years old. A photograph of him is reproduced in Ellery Kirke Taylor's *The Lion and the Hare*, chart J.

References

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2. *Statistics of the Class of 1851 of Yale College* (Boston: 1854), 2.
3. *Ibid.*, 36–37; Laura Winthrop Johnson, *The Life and Poems of Theodore Winthrop*, 191.
4. *Biographies of Graduates of the Yale Law School, 1824–1899* (edited by Roger W. Tuttle), 193; William Swinton, *History of the Seventh Regiment, National Guard, State of New York*, 152.
5. Laura Winthrop Johnson, *The Life and Poems of Theodore Winthrop*, 290, 298–299.
6. *Official Records of the Union and Confederate Armies*, First Series, XIX, Part 1. 345.
7. *Complete Regular Army Register of the United States*, compiled by Thomas H. S. Hamersly, 871.
8. William H. Powell, *Records of Living Officers of the United States Army* (1890), 654.
9. *Biographies of Graduates of the Yale Law School, 1824–1899* (edited by Roger W. Tuttle), 193–194.
10. William Winthrop, *An Abridgment of Military Law*, Preface.

WILLIAM HENRY[8] WINTHROP (*William Henry*[7], *Francis Bayard*[6], *John Still*[5], *John*[4], *Wait Still*[3], *John*[2], *John*[1]), the eldest son of William Henry and Margaret Ann (Parkin) Winthrop, was born in New London, Connecticut, on May 8, 1819. He grew up in New London and on Fisher's Island. About 1843, after marrying Mary Ellen Young, he occupied the East End House on the Island for a number of years and later moved down and made his home at the Mansion House; still later he resided in New London. He was sheriff of New London County about 1875.[1]

In 1863 Mr. Winthrop and his brother and sisters found it wise to sell Fisher's Island, which had been a family possession for more than two

hundred years, to Robert R. Fox, a retired manufacturer of New York.[2]

William Henry Winthrop died on March 15, 1895. His widow died in 1897.

Children:

Mary Parkin, born July 11, 1842, married Lieutenant Commander Robert B. Smith, August 14, 1867, had issue, and died November 17, 1927.

Margaret, born December 15, 1843, married September 13, 1862, Benjamin M. Carroll, of New London, Connecticut, had issue, and died February 9, 1924.

William Henry, born in 1846, died in 1848.

Ella, born February 20, 1848, married Albert Leeds, April 30, 1870, had issue, and died in 1923.

Isabella Lindall, born November 15, 1849, married Nathan Beebe, May 8, 1869, had issue, and died October 28, 1930.

George Simpson, born in 1851, died in the same year.

Anna Taylor, born September 23, 1853, married Edward Colby, January 5, 1873.

Charles Pool, born in 1854, died in 1864.

Frederick Waller, born December 28, 1856, married Augusta Barry, had issue, and died June 24, 1929. See p. 420.

Marie Louise, born September 19, 1858, died unmarried in 1886.

Henry C., born February 19, 1862, married September 2, 1891, Josephine LeViness, and had issue. He was living in New London about 1940. See p. 420.

References

1. *New London Directory for 1876–77.*

2. Henry L. Ferguson, *Fishers Island*, 66, 67.

ROBERT[8] Winthrop (*Thomas Charles*[7], *Francis Bayard*[6], *John Still*[5], *John*[4], *Wait Still*[3], *John*[2], *John*[1]), the second son of Thomas Charles and Georgiana Maria (Kane) Winthrop, was born in New York City on August 18, 1833. There are indications that his full name was originally either Robert Bayard or Robert Benjamin Winthrop.[1] By 1856 the compilers of the *New York City Directory* had discovered him at work at 10 Wall Street and residing, not at his father's house on West Fourteenth Street, but at his delightful Uncle Benjamin's at 134 Second Avenue. These continued to be

his addresses until 1860–61; in that year he was listed for the first time as a "banker" and with an office at 40 Wall Street; toward the end of the Civil War he established his home at 178 Fifth Avenue, and on Fifth Avenue he remained to the end of the chapter.

More or less coincident with his being classified as a banker at 40 Wall Street was Robert Winthrop's marriage to Miss Kate Wilson Taylor. She was the youngest daughter of Moses Taylor, an extraordinarily bold, sagacious, and successful New York merchant. Mr. Taylor specialized in trade with Cuba, but his ships were familiar sights even in India and China. He was also interested in the laying of the first transatlantic cable, and since 1855 he had been president of the City Bank, now the National City Bank of New York. His financial credit was always more than good, and he kept it so by never using it. He was a great believer in large cash resources.[2]

The marriage of Robert Winthrop and Kate Wilson Taylor took place on June 23, 1859. Mrs. Winthrop was a remarkable woman. When her father died in 1882, she fell heir to about $8,000,000. This money she determined to put to work in such a manner that she might leave that amount to *each* of her four sons; in other words, she proposed to quadruple her own patrimony in the thirty years that presumably lay ahead of her. It was a very interesting resolve; and more interesting than the resolve itself is the fact that she carried it out with complete success. Whatever views others might hold, Mrs. Winthrop knew that her father—who bought a controlling interest in the Delaware, Lackawanna and Western Railroad when the stock had fallen to $5 a share and still had it about seven years later when it was selling for $240—would have applauded her magnificent achievement.

In the attainment of her objective Mrs. Winthrop was, of course, ably assisted by her banker husband. By 1872 his firm had become Robert Winthrop & Co., the name which it still uses.

Mr. Winthrop died in New York on November 18, 1892. A portrait of him by Daniel Huntington is reproduced here; the original is owned by his grandson, Robert Winthrop.

Children:

Robert Dudley, born July 22, 1861, graduated from Harvard College in 1883, became a member of the firm of Robert Winthrop & Company, and died unmarried April 16, 1912. See p. 421.

Grenville Lindall, born in New York, February 11, 1864, graduated from

Robert Winthrop
1833–1892

Harvard College in 1886, married Mary Tallmadge Trevor, June 2, 1892, had issue, and died January 19, 1943. He was a lawyer, art collector, and philanthropist. See p. 422.

Katharine Taylor, born February 8, 1866, married, January 12, 1888, Hamilton Fish Kean (pronounced Kane), of "Ursino," Union County, New Jersey, and had issue. Mr. Kean was United States Senator from New Jersey, 1929–1935.

Frederic (baptized Frederic Bayard), born November 15, 1868, graduated from Harvard College in 1891, and was a member of the banking house of Robert Winthrop & Company until he moved to Boston in 1902. He married (1) Dorothy Amory, and (2) Sarah Barroll Thayer, and had issue by each. He died in Boston, May 6, 1932. See p. 428.

Albertina Taylor, born November 9, 1871, married, May 17, 1904, Jan Herman Van Roijen, of The Hague, Netherlands, had issue, and died at The Hague, April 19, 1934. Mr. Van Roijen was at various times the Dutch minister to Japan, Spain, Italy, and the United States. He died in 1933.

Beekman, born September 18, 1874, graduated from Harvard College in 1897, married October 7, 1903, Melza Riggs Wood, and died without issue, November 10, 1940. He was Governor of Porto Rico, 1904–07, Assistant Secretary of the Treasury, 1907–09, Assistant Secretary of the Navy, 1909–13, and senior member of the banking house of Robert Winthrop & Company, 1913–40. See p. 435.

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2. *National Cyclopaedia of American Biography*, VII. 255; *Dictionary of American Biography*.

GRENVILLE[8] WINTHROP (*Thomas Charles*[7], *Francis Bayard*[6], *John Still*[5], *John*[4], *Wait Still*[3], *John*[2], *John*[1]), the third son of Thomas Charles and Georgiana Maria (Kane) Winthrop, was born on February 19, 1837, presumably in New York City. His name was taken from his father's first cousin, Grenville Temple Winthrop, of Boston, who attended Columbia College in New York City when a young man and so was well acquainted with the New York branch of the family. Grenville Winthrop of Boston was connected by blood with the Grenville family in England. Grenville of New York was not; but the name was well liked by the Winthrops there and it was carried on by later generations on Manhattan Island.

Instead of going to college, Grenville entered business at an early age and when the Civil War began he was a broker with an office at 49 Exchange

Place; he still made his home at his father's house on West Fourteenth Street. We get just a glimpse of him in October, 1859, at a dinner given by Mr. and Mrs. David Stewart; Grenville sat next to Isabella Stewart (the future Mrs. John L. Gardner), and Lily Oddie sat beside John L. Gardner, of Boston.[1] On June 11, 1861 he married Elizabeth Van Schaick Oddie, daughter of William B. Oddie, of New York. (The *New York Directory* does not list any William B. Oddie, but presumably he was related to Orville Oddie of the brokerage house of Oddie and St. George, of 56 Exchange Place.)

Mr. and Mrs. Winthrop resided at 26 East Thirty-third Street. Downtown he continued to be a broker at 49 Exchange Place; soon after the end of the Civil War the firm was Grenville Winthrop & Co. Grenville Winthrop died at Pau, France, on March 6, 1869. He was thirty-two years old.[2]

Children:

Mary Van Schaick, born March 9, 1862, died unmarried in 1916.

Isabella Gardner, born January 1, 1864, is unmarried.

Alice Grenville, born June 15, 1865, married November 22, 1898, Frederick Norton Goddard, had issue, and died in 1921 or 1922.

Grenville Bayard, born October 3, 1868, graduated from Harvard College in 1891; married, October 19, 1897, Arazelia Van Zandt Potter, daughter of Charles Potter, had issue, and died July 31, 1933. See p. 438.

References

1. Morris Carter, *Isabella Gardner*, 19.
2. *New-York Times*, March 9, 1869.

FREDERICK[8] WINTHROP (*Thomas Charles*[7], *Francis Bayard*[6], *John Still*[5], *John*[4], *Wait Still*[3], *John*[2], *John*[1]), the fourth son of Thomas Charles and Georgiana Maria (Kane) Winthrop, was born in New York City on August 3, 1839. He may have been named for his father's first cousin, Frederick Winthrop, of Charleston, South Carolina, for in the first part of the nineteenth century the Charleston Winthrops often came North during the summer and these two branches of the family were fairly intimate.

Frederick grew up in New York; and though surrounded by ease that at least approached opulence, he did not go to college. When the Civil War

broke out he was twenty-one years old, and as a private in the Seventy-first Regiment of the New York State Militia, he was called to the defense of his country. The Seventy-first was a somewhat élite organization that made a point of keeping itself "exclusively American,"—that is to say, free from the foreign-born element in New York City. It called itself "The American Guard." On April 20, 1861, the Seventy-first assembled at its armory, and on the following day embarked for Washington, where it was stationed at the Navy Yard. After about three months of drilling and guard duty, it took part in the battle of Bull Run and returned to the capital, "not one man running"; unhappily, that descriptive phrase could not be honestly applied to many units of the Northern militia involved in that extraordinary debacle. About that time the Seventy-first's three months' enrollment in the forces of the United States expired; consequently it entrained for New York City and was there mustered out of the Federal service on July 30.[1]

At the disillusioning battle of Bull Run many an ardent young Northerner may well have lost his enthusiasm for military encounters. But Frederick Winthrop was not one of them; he had only begun to fight. When his original regiment was released from further immediate service, he entered the regular Army and on October 26 was commissioned a captain in the 12th Regiment of U. S. Infantry.[2] His regiment was a part of the Army of the Potomac throughout the remaining years of the war; most of that time he commanded Company B, First Battalion, First Brigade, Second Division, Fifth Corps. Among the battles in which he took part were the Seven Days' battles (June–July, 1862), the second battle of Bull Run (August, 1862), Antietam (September, 1862), Fredericksburg (December, 1862), Gettysburg (July, 1863), White Oak Road (March 31, 1865), and Five Forks (April 1, 1865).[3]

After the Seven Days' battles his name was called to the especial notice of the commanding general because of his gallant conduct. At Antietam he led a line of skirmishers that drove back some Confederate sharpshooters who were annoying a Federal battery. At Gettysburg the battalion to which his Company B belonged behaved well, though obliged to expend some of its energy in marching to the rear in quick time under a galling fire. In the busy days of clerical work after the battle Captain Winthrop was Acting Assistant Adjutant-General of the First Brigade.[4]

In the spring of 1864 Winthrop was in command of ten companies of the

12th Regiment, and in July, when Meade asked for nominations for generals, General Warren, who commanded the Fifth Corps, named as his second candidate for brigadier general: "Capt. Frederick Winthrop, Twelfth U. S. Infantry, who has shown most marked ability in the battles of the campaign in command of his regiment."[5] On the very same day General Warren wrote General John T. Sprague, Adjutant-General, State of New York:

> I beg leave to recommend for the position of colonel of the Fifth New York Volunteers, made vacant by the death of the gallant Colonel Winslow from wounds received in battle, Capt. Frederick Winthrop, of the Twelfth U.S. Infantry. Captain Winthrop is from the city of New York and has commanded his own regiment in several battles. The interest I take in this my old regiment, and in keeping it worthy of the reputation it has acquired, makes me ask this as a special request. I believe there is no officer in it now who can as well fill the vacancy as the officer I recommend.[6]

Evidently the recommended promotion to the colonelcy of the Fifth New York Volunteers was the first to produce results, for in his report of the fighting around the Weldon Railroad, near Petersburg, Virginia (August 18–21, 1864), General Ayres, who commanded the Second Division, wrote, "Col. Fred. Winthrop, Fifth New York Volunteers, succeeded General Hayes in the battle of the 19th, and as is always the case with him, acquitted himself in the most gallant manner." General Hayes had the misfortune to be captured by the enemy on the afternoon of August 19, and the command of the First Brigade suddenly devolved upon Winthrop. Before November 1, Winthrop was appointed Brevet Brigadier General, U. S. Volunteers; the promotion was given the date of August 1.[7]

Our nearest approach to a personal glimpse of Frederick Winthrop in the autumn of 1864 is found in a letter that Colonel Theodore Lyman, one of General Meade's aides, wrote on December 14: "General Winthrop said his brigade bivouacked in a cornfield; it blew, snowed and sleeted all night, and when reveille beat in the morning, you could only see what seemed a field full of dead bodies, each covered with a rubber blanket and encased with ice. Some of the men had to kick and struggle, they were so hard frozen down."[8]

When the year 1865 began, the end of the Confederacy was in sight. Grant's intention was to dislodge Lee from Petersburg and Richmond without allowing him to slip away to the South. This could be accomplished, he

believed, if Sheridan and his cavalry attacked the extreme right of the enemy's line, and seized not only the railroads remaining in Confederate hands, but also the important crossings of the country roads. The campaign opened on March 29, but at first things did not go very well with Sheridan. For two or three days he managed to hold his own in the vicinity of Dinwiddie Court House, and that was about all. In order to strengthen him with infantry, Grant ordered the Fifth Corps to go to his assistance at once.[9] So it came to pass that General Winthrop, who commanded the First Brigade of the Second Division of that Corps, took part in the highly important battle of the crossroads known as Five Forks.

Early on the afternoon of April 1, 1865, Winthrop and his brigade moved forward from a point two miles north of Dinwiddie Court House to support Sheridan's cavalry, "who were at this time engaged about two miles in advance." On reaching the field where the cavalry were in action, the division to which Winthrop's brigade belonged was placed in column of attack. "The column advanced through the woods [and] across an open field until the front line being engaged, the troops were deployed, and this brigade formed the left of the line of battle. Pressing forward down a hill to the edge of a swamp the enemy's intrenchments were discovered through a dense underbrush. Undismayed by the enemy's hot fire, and unchecked by the obstacles in the way, the brigade rushed upon the works and carried them. Quickly wheeling to the left upon the enemy's exposed flank their utter and complete rout was effected. More than 1,000 prisoners and four stand of colors were captured [by this command alone]."[10]

As far as numbers were concerned, the brigade's losses were slight: only one officer and three men were killed.[11] But that officer was General Winthrop, who was at the head of his command when the assault was made. According to his immediate superior, General Ayres: "That distinguished soldier, Bvt. Brig. Gen. Fred. Winthrop, U. S. Volunteers, fell mortally wounded just as his brigade was gallantly charging the enemy's breastworks, and in the moment of triumph freely laid down his life for his country. His dying thoughts were for his comrades, and his last anxious inquiries were concerning the fate of the day."[12] General Warren, who commanded the Fifth Corps, wrote: "His conduct had always been distinguished for gallantry of action and coolness of thought, and no one carried with him more of the confidence and inspiration that sustains a command in trying scenes.

His countrymen have lost no one of their soldiers who more deserves a lasting place in their memory."[13]

Frederick Winthrop was the last Union general to die on the field of battle. Eight days later Lee surrendered to Grant at Appomattox Court House, and the Civil War was practically over. In 1867 the brevet of major general was conferred on Winthrop; this was one of the few brevets given after death. It was dated April 1, 1865, the day of the battle of Five Forks.[14] At the time of his death, General Winthrop was twenty-five years old and unmarried.

In an unofficial account of the battle of Five Forks, written many years later but from notes "made nearly at the time of the events which they describe," General Joshua L. Chamberlain gives us one of the few personal memories of Frederick Winthrop that have found their way into print. Chamberlain commanded a brigade in another division of the Fifth Corps, and at the time of which he writes—about four o'clock in the afternoon—Winthrop's troops were forming and officers of the other two divisions were taking their respective stations. "I was in my place," writes Chamberlain, "but had not yet mounted, when General Fred Winthrop of Ayres' leading brigade came over and said: 'Dear old fellow, have you managed to bring up anything to eat? We moved so suddenly I had to leave everything. I have had scarcely a mouthful today.' I sent back an orderly and hurried up whatever we had. The best was poor, and there was not much of it. We sat there on a log, close behind the lines, and acted host and guest, while he opened his heart to me as men sometimes will quite differently from their common custom, under the shadow of a forecasting presence. It was a homely scene and humblest fare, but ever to be held in memory as a last supper of high companionship and vision of the higher. Half an hour afterwards, in the flame and whirl of battle, leading his brigade like a demigod, as in a chariot of fire, he was lifted to his like."[15]

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5. *Ibid.*, First Series, XL, Part III. 320.
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7. *Ibid.*, First Series, XLII, Part I. 472, 476; Part III. 449. *Complete Regular Army Register of the United States*, compiled by Thomas H. S. Hamersly, 925.
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14. *Appleton's Cyclopaedia of American Biography*, VI. 578.
15. Joshua Lawrence Chamberlain, *The Passing of the Armies*, 123–124.

FRANCIS[8] WINTHROP (*Joseph Augustus*[7], *Joseph*[6], *John Still*[5], *John*[4], *Wait Still*[3], *John*[2], *John*[1]), the elder son of Joseph Augustus and Maria Evelina (Parker) Winthrop, was born on June 6, 1832, presumably at Charleston, South Carolina. He became the junior member of the firm of Winthrop and Son, commission merchants. In 1855 he married Maria Drayton Parker.[1] Just before the outbreak of the Civil War he was taxed on the ownership of one slave.[2] After the war he found employment as a bookkeeper.[3] He died in 1909.[4]

Children:

Mary Rutledge, born January 17, 1856, married in 1882 William Andrew Johnstone, of Brevard, South Carolina, had issue, and died in 1926.

Frances, born in 1857, died in the same year.

Henry, born in 1859, died in 1864.

Francis Parker, last survivor of the male Winthrops in Charleston, South Carolina, was born in April, 1865. He married Annie, daughter of General Evander Law, and died without issue in 1924.

Anna Evelina, born November 23, 1867, married at Charleston, in February, 1891, John Ferrars (possibly Tennent instead of Ferrars) Townsend, planter, of Edisto Island, and had issue.

References

1. *South Carolina Historical and Genealogical Magazine*, IV (1903), 113, 156.
2. *List of the Tax Payers of the City of Charleston, for 1859*, 375.
3. Winthrop Manuscripts (Massachusetts Historical Society), 35. 126.
4. Ellery Kirke Taylor, *The Lion and the Hare*, chart I.

ROBERT CHARLES[8] WINTHROP (*Robert Charles*[7], *Thomas Lindall*[6], *John Still*[5], *John*[4], *Wait Still*[3], *John*[2], *John*[1]), the elder son of Robert C. and Eliza Cabot (Blanchard) Winthrop, was born in his father's house at 7 Tremont Place, Boston, Massachusetts, on December 7, 1834. Genealogically and socially he was known as "the younger Robert C. Winthrop"; and though he survived his eminent father for more than a decade, he never dropped the designation "Jr." from his name.[1] Tremont Place was, and still is, a by-way running from Beacon Street to the Granary Burying-ground on the eastern slope of Beacon Hill. During the period of Robert's boyhood, his father was making rapid progress up the ladder of American politics. Before Robert was seven years old, Robert C. Winthrop had graduated from the Massachusetts Legislature and had succeeded Abbott Lawrence as Boston's member of Congress at Washington. Mr. Winthrop was a Whig and the outgoing President of the United States, Martin Van Buren, was a Democrat. Nevertheless, when young Robert was taken to the White House he was allowed to sit upon the presidential knee while Mr. Van Buren showed him his watch and seals.[2]

After Mrs. Winthrop's death, in the summer of 1842, the boy's home life and schooling were somewhat disorganized. His father moved from Tremont Place to 21 Summer Street, between Washington and Chauncy Streets. Just a few steps down Summer Street lived "Grandfather" Gardner, who was not Robert's grandfather at all; he was, however, his great-great-uncle and had been his mother's guardian. The old gentleman had been very fond of the late Mrs. Winthrop and he held Mr. Winthrop in high regard; consequently, when their little boy turned in at the gate of the quaint Gardner mansion, which had been the Leonard Vassall house in pre-Revolutionary times, he was not likely to be shooed away. "In its wide courtyard

in front," wrote Robert, in retrospect, "and large garden in the rear I used constantly to play as a child. The out-of-door grapes and pears were famous —a veritable *rus in urbe*! The great affection of my grandfather for my mother, and his esteem for my father, led him to be very kind to me, and I often sat with him in his study, almost a separate building, adjoining the garden, when he showed me many curious and interesting books or talked about early days in Wenham and elsewhere."

When nine years old, Robert was sent away to a boarding school kept by Dr. John Adam Weisse at Roxbury, Massachusetts. There he stayed until the spring of 1847, but during vacations he was likely to visit his maternal relatives in Salem. "One of his cousins recently recalled the picture of young Winthrop lying on the floor of his uncle's library devouring Scott's novels and the best English literature of that day, utterly oblivious of what was passing around him."[3] In April, 1847, his father took him to Europe for six months. Father and son sailed from Boston on April 1, on the Cunard steamer *Hibernia*, and were gone six months and a half. Robert C. Winthrop, Sr., had attained prominence at Washington and was soon to be elected Speaker of the House of Representatives. His social and political prestige plus letters from Daniel Webster, Edward Everett, and others, opened all doors to him wherever he went, and his son could not fail to be impressed by what he saw and heard of persons of distinction,—the Duke of Wellington, Sir Robert Peel, Lord Lansdowne, Prince Louis Napoleon, and King Louis Philippe.[4] Soon after the travelers returned to Boston it was discovered that Robert had quite outgrown Dr. Weisse's school; and after a brief experiment with the Boston Latin School, he was whisked away to Phillips Academy at Andover. There he spent the next two years and a half, made a good record in his studies, and was prepared for admission to Harvard College.

When Robert entered Harvard in the autumn of 1850, he was a bright boy between fifteen and sixteen years old. He was quick at his lessons, but it was not always easy for him to apply himself; in the family he was accounted "wilful," but study was not what his will usually demanded. Furthermore, after the close supervision and high-pressure instruction to which he had been subjected at Andover, the complete freedom of life in Cambridge rather went to his head. Going to the theatre was much more fun than going to lectures and classes, and he developed a habit of seeing almost all the plays in town. During his Freshman year he lived at Mr. Grames's,

on Church Street at the corner of Palmer Street; later, at Mrs. Guthrie's on Church Street. Socially everything came to him easily, perhaps too easily; like his father before him he was elected into Hasty Pudding, the Institute of 1770, and the M.O.F. and Porcellian Clubs, and his classmates soon recognized his gift as a presiding officer at almost any kind of gathering.[5] Though held in high esteem by his fellow undergraduates, Robert Winthrop was not what one would call either popular or unpopular. His own account of his manner affords an explanation. "My grandfather was known at Harvard in 1778 as 'English Tom,' and my father forty-six years later dubbed 'English Winthrop' by some of his classmates, as a result of native reserve and ceremonious manners. So I, when a Sophomore, was taken to task in a friendly way by Professor Felton for affecting a sort of 'English hauteur.' There was no affectation about it. I was by nature reserved except with intimates, combining a sort of youthful bashfulness with extreme shortness of vision, and my inability to recognize people at a little distance often made me seem cold or indifferent." Nevertheless, he was elected president of the Hasty Pudding Club, and when Charles Russell Lowell, the most popular man in the Class of 1854, declined to be a candidate for the Class Day office of Orator, Winthrop was chosen on the fifth ballot, "and was subsequently chosen by acclamation to be President of the Class Day Supper."[6]

With the Faculty of Harvard College young Robert C. Winthrop did not stand so well. In fact, from the beginning of his Sophomore year, in the autumn of 1851, until the grand finale in June, 1854, he was almost continuously a source of irritation and exasperation to the powers that make academic rules and regulations and try to enforce them. In Winthrop's case none of the usual preventives or correctives had any lasting effect; and at least three facts made the situation hard to deal with: (1) The boy had plenty of ability, (2) he was a Winthrop, and (3) his distinguished father was—during Robert's Freshman year—United States Senator, and during his last two years in College a member of the Board of Overseers. Nevertheless, come what might, the Faculty was determined to make a man of Robert. In September, 1851, he was "privately admonished for neglect of the study of Mathematics"; three or four months later "it appearing . . . that Winthrop of the Sophomore Class has manifested a general inattention to his studies during the present Term, and has been absent, to an excessive degree, from College exercises," the Faculty voted "that he be suspended, and

placed under the care of the Rev. Mr. Ellis of Northampton, until the first day of the First Term of the next Academical Year." That disposed of Robert for several months; but in the following summer he returned to Cambridge, passed an examination, and was re-admitted as a Junior.[7] That was quite agreeable to Winthrop, but it did not necessarily mean that he would mend his ways, and he soon proved to be "the same old sixpence." In January he was behind in Latin and astronomy and was required to spend part of the coming vacation in making up this work and "reciting three times a week in each study." Furthermore, he and some other Juniors were to be publicly admonished because of the great number of their absences from recitations.

At this juncture President Sparks resigned and was succeeded by President Walker. But Winthrop under Walker was just a repetition of Winthrop under Sparks. First he was privately admonished for unexcused absences from prayers, then publicly admonished for unexcused absences from recitations; and at the end of the first half of his Senior year the Faculty voted "that the parents of Windship and Winthrop, Seniors, be informed that if their sons return to College at the commencement of the next term they must do so at their own risk; for in granting them permission to return, the Faculty cannot authorize any expectation that they will be allowed to graduate with their Class,"—all of which Winthrop probably considered rather ridiculous. Early in May he was again publicly admonished for failure to attend classes, and toward the end of that month he was publicly admonished for misconduct at the annual Dudleian Lecture, an institution founded by one of his collateral ancestors about one hundred years before.[8] Winthrop's offense was "the consumption and distribution of peanuts in the College Chapel" on that occasion. Presumably this public reprimand was preceded by a private session with President Walker, for, as Winthrop told the story in later years: "I could not in conscience deny the charge; and I was aware that any attempt to do so would be futile, as I had not long before been credibly assured that no less competent an authority than a well-known Professor of Political Economy had personally identified a heap of shells under my seat. I ventured, however, to insinuate some slight palliation of the enormity of which I had been guilty, by pointing out that no inconsiderable portion of that Dudleian Lecture had been devoted to undermining certain religious tenets which I had been taught from childhood to reverence. [One

of the prescribed subjects for the lecture was "the validity of non-episcopal ordination"; Winthrop was an Episcopalian.] Dr. Walker rejoined, in accents of unmistakable severity, although, as it seemed to me, there played across his expressive features the shadow—the momentary shadow—of a smile: 'Mr. Winthrop, your conduct in this, as in some other matters, has been marked by an incorrigible want of decorum.' "*

Either as Class Orator or as President of the Class Day Supper, Robert C. Winthrop, Jr., felt called upon to give a memorable party on the evening of Class Day in 1854. On that day—Friday, June 23—the weather was fine, and everything went off well, including his oration, "though," as he wrote in looking back upon it, "it would have been better had I put more work on it." The grand party was not held in his room, which was on Church Street, but in someone else's room on the ground floor of Holworthy.[9] It is not entirely clear that Winthrop was exactly what one would call host, but it was generally known that he was responsible for the lavish supply of stimulants that made this occasion—which was open to all undergraduates—more hilarious than anything of the kind in the history of the College. There is no reason to think that Winthrop did this as an act of bravado and with the intention of outraging the sensibilities of the Faculty. Probably he never gave the Faculty a thought. But there were those in that body who were certain that he did what he did with malice prepense; however that might be, they were weary of young Mr. Winthrop and his pert and airy ways and something should be done about him while there was a chance to do it. Accordingly, at the Faculty Meeting on June 26,

It appearing to this Board that Winthrop, Senior, gave a festive entertainment in a College room, on Friday night, June 23d, at which spirituous liquors were provided and great disturbances were made and continued to a late hour of the night, Thereupon

Voted, that Winthrop be not recommended to the Corporation to receive a degree.

Consequently his name was removed from the list of candidates, and he did not become an A.B. until a whole year later.

Degree-less but undaunted, Robert C. Winthrop, Jr., entered the Harvard Law School in the autumn of 1854, spent a year there, and then availed himself of an opening in the law office of Hodges & Saltonstall,—Mr. Sal-

* In his pamphlet entitled "A Difference of Opinion," Mr. Winthrop referred to this incident as occurring when he was "a member of the Junior Class"; but the Faculty Records indicate that it took place towards the end of his Senior year.

tonstall being Leverett Saltonstall "whose marriage to a cousin of his had led to an intimacy."[10] Although the law did not really interest him, he continued to call it his profession until he was admitted to the Suffolk Bar in September, 1857; but he never practised. According to his own account, while "I read comparatively little I acquired a general acquaintance with the usages of our local courts and the ways of local practitioners which confirmed in me a distaste for the profession which was perhaps unreasonable."

On October 15, 1857, when he was within a few weeks of being twenty-three years old, young Mr. Winthrop married Frances ("Fanny") Pickering Adams, the youngest daughter of Benjamin Adams who lived in Pemberton Square. She was a year younger than he, and she looked only about seventeen; small, graceful, and golden-haired, she was undeniably one of the most attractive girls in Boston. Furthermore, she was very fond of music; and being an exceptionally good dancer and having a good soprano voice, she was much in demand for social occasions. At the time of their marriage Mrs. Winthrop had a cough that was just persistent enough to make it seem advisable for her to spend a few winters in the South of Europe; as this precautionary measure was not at all counter to their own predilections, the young people sailed for Europe a week after they were married. Although Mrs. Winthrop was not really well, she had a sunny disposition and they enjoyed most their protracted sojourn in Europe. They traveled much, usually by carriage, in England, France, and Italy; they spent part of one summer on the Rhine; but Paris was their favorite city, and Pau and the Riviera were delightful in certain seasons of the year. One winter they stayed in Rome, and they also visited Malta.* While they were in Rome, in the spring of 1860, Mrs. Winthrop grew rapidly worse and she died there on April 23, at the age of twenty-four.

When Mr. Winthrop returned to Boston in June, 1860, he was a widower and childless. In a desultory manner, he busied himself to a certain extent with the Winthrop family papers, but he was restless; he was "homesick for Europe," or thought that he was. Two years later (1862) he spent nine months abroad, traveling in England, France, and Italy. For companions he had his college friends Charles Thorndike and Theodore Chase, and in the course of his rambles he met Bismarck, who was then the Prussian rep-

* Mr. Winthrop's personal friend and "very distant kinsman," William Winthrop (*né* William Winthrop Andrews), was the United States Consul in the island of Malta.

resentative at the court of Napoleon III, ex-Chancellor Brougham, and Earl Grey. Upon his return to America, Boston seemed as uninteresting as before: the Civil War was dragging along indecisively, the theatres were indifferent, and one met everywhere the same people. So in 1863 Mr. Winthrop visited Europe twice, spending most of his time in Paris and some of it in London and Pau. In the summer of 1864 he was again abroad,—principally in England and Scotland,—and in 1865 he went back again for "three months in Europe." From his own point of view, there wasn't much else that he *could* do. Looking back on this period, he wrote, about forty years later:

> During the nearly three years that elapsed between my return home toward the close of 1862 and my now going away I had tried hard at intervals to secure some permanent occupation. Practice of the law had as little attraction for me as ever,—politics even less, owing to the shameful attacks upon my father, for some account of which see my Memoir of him. Military service in the Civil War was out of the question owing to my liability to water on the knee,—and even had this been otherwise, such service would have been distasteful to me as I had friends and relatives at the South and believed the Republican party to be largely responsible for the conflict. For literary work I was better suited, and I occasionally availed myself of opportunities for writing newspaper articles. At one time I thought seriously of going to San Francisco on such an errand, but was rather discouraged by my father's old friend, Hon. Edward Stanley, who represented the tone of society there as coarse and convivial, and thought that a reserved, fastidious man like myself, who hated being asked to "drink" would be handicapped at the outset. I have no doubt he was right. I was always more of a dreamer than a worker, capable of much energy by fits and starts, alternating with periods of more or less indulgence and indolence. I wrote verses and short stories which failed to satisfy me,—a novel which I burned when half finished, it fell so short of my ideal,—but it was a pleasure to me to assist my father in his various historical and commemorative undertakings.

The craving for European travel continued for a few years after the Civil War and then ceased forever. In the autumn of 1866 Mr. Winthrop sailed for Liverpool and spent the following winter in Paris, "doing a prodigious amount of theatre-going, and being much in society, chiefly American, though occasionally foreign." In the spring of 1867, he and his friend William E. Howe, of Boston, traveled in Spain and Portugal, and toward the end of the summer he and George Welles—his father's stepson—made a tour through France, Germany, Austria, Hungary, and Poland to St. Petersburg and Moscow. Winthrop did not return to America until late in the fall of 1868; he had been out of the country for over two years. The following

winter he spent in Boston, and on June 1, 1869, he married Miss Elizabeth Mason, the eldest daughter of Robert M. Mason of Boston. He was thirty-four years old and she was ten years younger. Her father was a highly successful merchant, who, though born in Portsmouth, New Hampshire, had married in Boston and had resided there since 1843.

Mr. Winthrop had met his bride in Pau about seven years before they were married. She shared his preference for life in Europe, and on the last day of June, 1869, they sailed from New York. They remained abroad for two years and a quarter, during which period occurred the Franco-Prussian War and the collapse of the Second Empire. Mr. and Mrs. Winthrop spent a good deal of time in Italy, Switzerland, and Germany, while waiting for Paris to become comfortably habitable again. In June, 1871, they "were among the first of the foreign colony to re-enter Paris, finding in every direction interesting traces of the Prussian siege and the brutal devastation of the Commune." After five weeks there, they spent the rest of the summer in England and Wales and sailed for New York about the middle of September. Thereafter Mr. Winthrop never revisited the Old World. Did the upheaval that brought down the Second Empire spoil Europe, especially Paris, for one who had known and loved it in the days of Napoleon and Eugénie? Or had something changed Mr. Winthrop to such an extent that thenceforth he was sufficiently happy in his native land? According to him, this complete alteration of his habits was due to a variety of causes,—"the birth of children, my father's dependence upon me, my father-in-law's indisposition to part with his daughter, etc."

His own account of his activities during this second half of his life is probably too modest, but it is interesting and illuminating:

> Since my final return from Europe towards the close of 1871, I have led for the most part a quiet domestic life, the one best suited to my mature tastes, but a great contrast to my early ones. My wife cared little for general society, and I gradually withdrew more and more from the gay world, besides losing my interest in popular amusements. Still less did I fancy opportunities which sometimes opened for acquiring a certain notoriety as a speaker at public dinners, a lecturer on historical subjects, a reviewer of books or periodicals, or in serving on committees of one sort or another. My father would have had me more ambitious, but I am satisfied that my preference for the background accorded best with my temperament and my health. I have felt flattered to find it sometimes said that "he might have been distinguished had he chosen to exert himself," but I should have been stung by any insinuation that I tried to make a figure in the world and failed.
>
> My time, however, has by no means wholly been devoted to domestic pursuits.

Aside from the assistance I constantly rendered my father, I was for twenty years an active member of the Massachusetts Historical Society of which both my father and grandfather had been Presidents, but in which I preferred to hold no office. During this period three of its volumes of Collections were in great measure prepared by me, while its volumes of Proceedings contain *more than 100 communications* of mine on different subjects; some short, others of considerable length, others privately printed in pamphlet form. They do not, however, contain a squib of mine in 1885, entitled "A Few Words in Defence of an Elderly Lady," being a reply to Dr. G. E. Ellis, who in an address on Chief Justice Sewall had gone out of his way to attack the widow of Wait Winthrop, whom Sewall had vainly endeavored to marry. This production, on being read to the Society, met with such success that I printed it for private distribution, resisting repeated offers from publishers. My memoir of my father, tho' nominally prepared for the Historical Society, was separately printed in a volume of 360 pages, and two editions of it were widely circulated by me in public libraries throughout this country and abroad.

Genealogical pursuits have also occupied me more or less, chiefly in relation to my own family or those immediately connected with it. For instance, the first volume of J. J. Muskett's "Suffolk Manorial Families" was printed chiefly at my expense, and fifty copies of the first four parts of it were caused to be bound by me with the title "Winthrop of Groton and Allied Families."

Besides the above-mentioned Memoir of my father, a shorter one of my father-in-law, Robert M. Mason, and one of my father's cousin, Hon. David Sears,—all separately printed as well as included in the Society's Proceedings,—I wrote for the Ipswich Historical Society all but the local part of a "Sketch of John Winthrop the Younger," printing it at my own expense with frontispiece and facsimiles.

The re-arrangement of the large collection of Colonial MSS. conventionally known as the Winthrop Papers has occupied much of my time at different periods. A large number of these MSS. have been deciphered and copied by me, while valuable selections from them have been given by me to the State Library of Connecticut, Yale University Library, the Pilgrim Society, Long Island Historical Society, *et al.*

For many years I was one of the Trustees of the Boston Athenæum, serving on its Library Committee, but I preferred to retire on account of dissatisfaction with the management of that institution and a wish to avoid controversy with colleagues who were my personal friends. For many years also I was a member of the locally famous "Wednesday Evening Club of 1777," until an increasing deafness, combined with less and less inclination to go out of an evening, decided me to retire.[11]

To Philistine ears a good deal of this may sound like a page or two from *The Late George Apley*, but anyone who has worked on his own family papers and has any conception of the extent of the Winthrop Papers understands that what Robert C. Winthrop, Jr., attempted in this field alone was no easy task, however congenial the work may have been. And anyone who has used any of the many cumbersome volumes in which the letters and doc-

uments were mounted and labeled by him appreciates the time and labor that process required in addition to the arduous preliminary work of identifying, sorting, and organizing. Mr. Winthrop possessed all the qualities essential to the undertaking: patience, industry, accuracy, and—above all—a thorough knowledge not only of the personnel of the family in every generation but also of the periods of history in which they lived. He was better equipped than any paid worker could have been, and probably better than any other member of the Massachusetts Historical Society or of any other organization of that kind. About the family as a whole he knew more than his versatile father did, perhaps because he had more time for saturating himself with the contents of the manuscripts; and he was, so the present writer feels, more accurate both in his statements and in his transcriptions. He was meticulous, without being fussy. The work he did will be useful to serious students of history as long as American history, especially that of the colonial period, invites research. His labors with the family papers included the weeding out and partial preservation of letters written to or by his father in the course of his long and busy life. This meant frequent important decisions—to keep or not to keep—as well as the tedious business of arranging the letters, pasting them into a bulky tome, or selecting extracts to be copied by an amanuensis. After his death, and at his suggestion, his widow gave the Society "forty-three folio and other volumes"; in the words of Charles Francis Adams, its president at that time, "the value of the accession from an historical point of view cannot easily be estimated, while it would not admit of expression in money. Our collections are vastly enriched."[12]

In his account of his activities, quoted above, Mr. Winthrop did not do full justice to himself as a member of the Massachusetts Historical Society. For instance, his statement that he "preferred to hold no office" is somewhat misleading. It is true that he declined to be a candidate for the presidency, but he was a member of the Executive Committee of the Council from 1886 to 1889, and for about twenty years he was always on one important committee or another. He was, as Mr. Adams observed, "essentially a working member"; but he was also, to a certain extent, a Maecenas: when the Society was ready to bring out Part IV of its earlier version of the Winthrop Papers but was short of funds for that purpose, "it was Mr. Winthrop who quietly came forward and met the cost, some $1200, of printing the volume."[13]

Above all, perhaps, he was an enlivening member. If Mr. Winthrop was present, a meeting was something more than the reading of a conventional paper followed by perfunctory applause. His formal contributions were either aggressive or seasoned with sallies of humor,—or both. But he was at his best during the period allowed for "communications" and for extempore remarks on the paper of the day; "when he took the floor, the Society, however somnolently inclined before, invariably became animated and expectant. Any atmosphere of indifference or tedium at once was dispelled." On one occasion he may have gone too far, though the present writer does not take that view. One day in October, 1884, the Reverend George E. Ellis, D.D., the senior vice-president of the Massachusetts Historical Society, delivered in the Old South Church "An Address on the Life and Character of Chief Justice Sewall"; and in the hope of making his discourse somewhat entertaining, he spiced it up with an account of the Judge's quest for a third wife. Among the objects of the Judge's affection was Mrs. Katharine Winthrop, the widow of Wait Still Winthrop; in an unguarded moment Dr. Ellis styled her a "worldly-minded woman" and intimated that she first encouraged an old man to make her an offer of marriage and then refused him from mercenary motives.

Now if an historian, or anyone else, uses derogatory epithets or imputes motives to those about whom he writes, he will do well to make sure of his facts. Unfortunately for himself, Dr. Ellis did not do this and consequently when his Address appeared in print he was picked up by Mr. Winthrop. In his day Dr. Ellis was regarded as the authority on "the Puritan Age and Rule in the Colony of the Massachusetts Bay"; but when it came to knowledge of the Winthrop Family and its immediate connections, he was not in the same class with Robert C. Winthrop, Jr. Toward the end of the meeting held in February, 1885, and with Vice President Ellis in the chair, Mr. Winthrop arose and delivered a "communication" that must have electrified those who heard it. Taking exception to Dr. Ellis's careless and unfair characterization of Madam Winthrop, he easily proved that the author was in error on several points and had given an entirely wrong impression of both the lady and her septuagenarian suitor. If the calling to account and correction had been done by Mr. Winthrop's friend and fellow member, Charles Francis Adams, it would have been done with a bludgeon, which would have bruised but would have left no sting. Winthrop's method was different, and

so were the after-effects. He used a rapier, and he did it with exquisite courtesy, brilliant flashes of wit, and that wonderful lightness of touch which, like his vocabulary and his clarity of style, was a gift from the gods. The result was that he made Dr. Ellis appear ridiculous; and Dr. Ellis, who took himself and his writings very seriously, knew it.

Read in cold print sixty years after its delivery, Mr. Winthrop's "communication" strikes one as being a masterpiece,—historically sound, full of mischief, yet apparently innocent of malice. But some of those who heard it did not take that view. Perhaps they were right. Perhaps the manner in which it was presented had something to do with their reaction; or it may be that they were influenced by the fact that Mr. Winthrop was twenty years younger than his victim and by the knowledge that in all probability Dr. Ellis would soon succeed Mr. Winthrop's father as president of the Society. Whatever their reason or reasons may have been, the Committee of Publication found his *jeu d'esprit* unseemly and decided that it should not be included in the printed account of the meeting. In other words, it was ruled out of the Society's *Proceedings*. Fortunately for posterity the author determined to supplement the original communication with a second one, which he read at the April meeting, and to print both in a merry little pamphlet; this he would distribute where it would be likely to be most appreciated and do the most good. The result was a twenty-five-page pamphlet entitled "A Difference of Opinion concerning the Reasons Why Katharine Winthrop Refused to Marry Chief Justice Sewall"; its pretty gray cover bore a separate inscription: "A Few Words in Defence of an Elderly Lady." Anyone who is so fortunate as to possess a copy today is more likely to read it and reread it than to part with it. It is Robert C. Winthrop, Jr., at his very best.

While working in the family papers, which covered the period from the close of the sixteenth to the middle of the eighteenth century, Mr. Winthrop inevitably accumulated a substantial amount of useful information about his ancestors, both direct and collateral. Very wisely he decided that the more important genealogical facts should be preserved in print, where they would be available to other members of the family and to historical students in general. Accordingly, in 1874 he printed a tentative outline—a sort of trial balloon—entitled *A Pedigree of the Family of Winthrop*; and he explained, even on the title page, that it was "printed for private refer-

ence only, with a view to correction and addition." Thirteen years later, in 1887, he issued *A Short Account of the Winthrop Family*, which, like the other, was "privately printed for convenient reference." Both are very useful. Oddly enough, the first is the more comprehensive; the second is the more accurate, but it is practically limited to the direct line from Adam Winthrop in England to, and through, John Still Winthrop of New London. His own annotated copy of the *Short Account* is in the library of the Massachusetts Historical Society and is, of course, especially valuable. Between the two, in 1883, he produced a third pamphlet, which is so extremely rare that neither the Library of Congress nor the Harvard University Library possesses a copy; he called it *Some Account of the Early Generations of the Winthrop Family in Ireland.*

Mr. Winthrop's *magnum opus* was his *Memoir of Robert C. Winthrop*, which came out in 1897. The younger Winthrop adored his distinguished father, but there were plenty of Bostonians who did not share his enthusiasm for the old gentleman,—though willing to admit that he was a remarkable man; some were critical of him because he was not an Abolitionist, some because he could not or would not turn himself from a Whig into a Republican, and many never forgave him for campaigning for McClellan against Abraham Lincoln in 1864. Under the circumstances a biography of him from the pen of his devoted son seemed foredoomed to harsh and unjust criticism. But a consideration of that kind would not have discouraged Robert C. Winthrop; he disliked controversy, but when he had a mission to perform and knew he was right, he was unafraid. As it turned out, he disarmed all open-minded readers by presenting not only the facts as he saw them but also many of the hostile judgments of his father's contemporaries. In a letter which Colonel T. W. Higginson preserved and pasted into his own copy of the Memoir (now in the Harvard College Library), Mr. Winthrop wrote:

> My father had a distaste for the voluminous biographies now in vogue, but he wished, in case I lived to prepare a memoir of him, to have his political career brought out in bold relief, though not in a controversial spirit, so far as practicable. In short, he had a fancy for a resonant, but not wholly defiant, blast upon the old Whig bugle, and I need hardly say that I was prepared for some discordant echoes and am agreeably surprised to hear so few.
>
> I fully expected that the subject would be treated in the Nation as Sanborn treated it in the Springfield Republican, but this I should by no means have resented. Indeed, I made a point of writing Sanborn that I had substantially no fault to find, as he admitted that the book possessed some historical value, and

that my father, though a "reincarnated Tory," was honest and courageous according to his lights.

Nor do I claim any credit for trying to give both sides, so far as space admitted. I have always contended that the weakness of much political biography lies in the suppression or glossing over of the charges of opponents, but I am not sanguine enough to believe that my example will be generally followed.

Coming from the pen of one who had won a local reputation for being "a free lance of some brilliancy" who broke the traditional repose of the Massachusetts Historical Society "by occasional fearless forays,"[14] the book was remarkable for its serene detachment and impartiality. It was remarkable also for its literary merit. Mr. Winthrop possessed an enviable style,—as clear as crystal, graceful, and polished; and it should be added that he was never dull. If it is true that he lacked application, his skill as a writer was probably a natural gift, one that he inherited from his father and unconsciously developed by much reading of the best literature. Of the Memoir one of his classmates was moved to write: "I have long considered it equal to the very best biographies extant,—indeed, I cannot name another that I consider as good,—and it is quite as much a monument to the writer as to the subject."[15]

In the autumn of 1872, just a year after their return from Europe, Mr. and Mrs. Winthrop established themselves at 37½ Beacon Street, Boston, and in 1884 they moved to a mansion at 10 Walnut Street, which had a charming westerly vista down Chestnut Street. For a number of years their summers were passed in various places—Lenox, Lincoln, Medford, and Beverly—in houses hired for the season; but in 1894 Mr. Winthrop bought at Manchester-by-the-Sea an unfinished house that had been begun on a large scale by C. A. Prince. The land that went with it plus some bought from others totaled about forty acres. Mr. Winthrop completed the house, built stables and outbuildings, and developed the grounds in accordance with his taste. He named the place "Lanthorne Hill" after "the estate in Connecticut which formed part of the possessions of Gov. John Winthrop, Jr., descending thro' five generations of his descendants and so often referred to in our family papers." Of the earlier Lanthorne Hill he wrote, "It was never inhabited by them, however, and when found to be of little value for mining purposes continued a wild ragged hill of great extent overlooking the Sound near what is now Stonington."

As the years passed, Mr. Winthrop became more and more a recluse. In

the spring of 1901 he was invited to become a member of the Colonial Society of Massachusetts, but he declined and explained: "Many years ago I made up my mind to gradually withdraw from several Societies and Clubs whose meetings I found no leisure to attend, and to join no others thereafter. Since that time I have declined an election to the American Antiquarian Society and offered-elections to other institutions. I prefer, therefore, to adhere to this rule, but I should be sorry to be thought discourteous, or to seem wanting in good-will to The Colonial Society of Massachusetts, to which I would gladly be of service and whose Publications I value highly." He continued to frequent the Somerset Club, but to the younger members he seemed distant by more than one generation. In part, at least, this was due to his near-sightedness, which was also responsible for his often passing on the street even his most intimate friends without a bow or recognition of any kind.

> Always temperate, as he ate at his solitary table he would habitually have before him a magazine or newspaper; but if a friend of his youth chanced to come in, and, dropping into the chair opposite, address him before the awestruck juniors by the familiar abbreviation of name, his face would at once light up as the old geniality returned. As a rule, however, the younger generation and its prattle did not interest him; and even the theatre, or at any rate the American theatre in its Boston stage of development, had ceased to amuse. Yet his letters were sprightly and pleasant to the end; caustic and full of observation. He seemed also to take pleasure in writing them.[16]

It is not surprising that he did not wish to take on any more societies, for he belonged to a good many, including the New England Historic Genealogical and the Bostonian; at Manchester he was a member of the Essex County Club.

Without ever having been especially robust, Mr. Winthrop enjoyed average health until his sixty-third year (about 1897). He could be philosophical about the death of his father, which occurred in 1894, but the sudden loss of his only brother in the following year was a great grief to him. In the spring of 1905 Mr. Winthrop underwent a surgical operation and on the evening of June 5, he died at his home on Walnut Street in Boston. Death was due to heart failure, the immediate result of the operation; he was seventy years old. Funeral services, planned by himself, were held on June 9 at St. John's Memorial Chapel of the Episcopal Theological School at Cambridge; the chapel had been given to the School by his father-in-law, Rob-

ert M. Mason, about thirty years before. He was survived by his widow, a son, and two daughters.

Mr. Winthrop's "public bequests of more than thirty thousand dollars were to the Massachusetts Historical Society, the New England Historic Genealogical Society, the Colonial Society of Massachusetts, the Bostonian Society, the Boston Episcopal Charitable Society, Bowdoin College, and Phillips Academy, Andover, the incomes of the last two bequests 'to be used for the encouragement of the study of Greek and Latin authors.' " With characteristic modesty he stipulated that his two benefactions to the Historical Society should merely be added to existing funds bearing other names than his own: $5000 to that left by his father, and $2000 to that founded by his kinsman, William Winthrop, of Malta.

A portrait of Robert C. Winthrop, Jr.—a crayon taken by B. G. Porter in 1877—is reproduced in volume x of the *Publications* of the Colonial Society of Massachusetts, facing page 388; also in the *Proceedings* of the Massachusetts Historical Society, Second Series, volume xx, facing page 178.

Children:

Robert Mason, born March 7, 1873, A.B., Harvard University, 1895, entered the diplomatic service of the United States, and died at Nice, France, May 6, 1938. See p. 439.

Clara Bowdoin, born March 12, 1876, resides in Manchester, Massachusetts, and has continued the family tradition of giving to the Massachusetts Historical Society valuable memorabilia of the Winthrop, Temple, and Bowdoin families.

Margaret Tyndal, born February 23, 1880, married, in Boston, November 28, 1906, James Grant Forbes (A.B., Harvard, 1901), and had issue. One of her daughters, Angela Elizabeth, became the wife of Frederic Winthrop[10] and resides in Hamilton, Massachusetts.

References

1. Massachusetts Historical Society *Proceedings*, Second Series, xx. 179.
2. *Ibid.*, 180.
3. Colonial Society of Massachusetts *Publications*, x. 390.
4. Robert C. Winthrop, Jr., *A Memoir of Robert C. Winthrop*, 64; Robert C. Winthrop, *Reminiscences of Foreign Travel, passim.*
5. Colonial Society of Massachusetts *Publications*, x. 392.
6. Massachusetts Historical Society *Proceedings*, Second Series, xx. 182.
7. Harvard College Faculty Records (MS.), meetings of January 12 and September 6, 1852; in the Harvard University Archives.

8. Massachusetts Historical Society *Proceedings*, Second Series, xx. 183.
9. Colonial Society of Massachusetts *Publications*, x. 394.
10. Massachusetts Historical Society *Proceedings*, Second Series, xx. 184.
11. *Ibid.*, 195–196.
12. Massachusetts Historical Society *Proceedings*, Second Series, xix. 307.
13. *Ibid.*, 301.
14. Thomas Wentworth Higginson, in *The Nation*, 65. 489.
15. Colonial Society of Massachusetts *Publications*, x. 398.
16. Massachusetts Historical Society *Proceedings*, Second Series, xx. 199.

JOHN[8] WINTHROP (*Robert Charles*[7], *Thomas Lindall*[6], *John Still*[5], *John*[4], *Wait Still*[3], *John*[2], *John*[1]), the younger son of Robert C. and Eliza Cabot (Blanchard) Winthrop, was born in Boston, Massachusetts, on June 20, 1841. His mother died in June, 1842, and the story of John's life, as set down by himself at the end of his Senior year at Harvard, begins about a year later. "Since I was about two years old, I have always lived with my Uncle John C. Gray and have dwelt with him part of the time Cambridge and part of the time Boston. I first attended school at a Miss Paddock's in Boston; afterwards at Mr. Phelps', also in Boston; then I attended the Hopkins Classical School in Cambridge-port for a few years; from thence I went to a boarding-school kept by Mr. Ambrose Wellington on Kirkland St., Cambridge; the last two years before I came to College I passed at the school of Mr. Thos. G. Bradford of Boston. The Hopkins Classical School was kept by Mr. E. B. Whitman. I entered College at the July Examination 1858, with the Class of '62; at the end of my Freshman year Prex. Walker said he was 'sorry to inform' me that I hadn't passed my examinations satisfactorily, that I hadn't got my matriculation, and that my time of probation was over; I was therefore dismissed from my class for the space of one year. I went up to the placid village of Stockbridge, Berkshire County, Mass. and —*had a good time*, until the following April when I sailed for Europe. I returned in September and began to study with the intention of rejoining my Class in July, but did not succeed in passing the examinations. I was then admitted to the Class of '63. I am a member of the Porcellian and Hasty Pudding Clubs, also of the society of the three 'W's.' I have a particular

fondness for horses and dogs; I have kept more or less dogs since I first came to College; at present I have three. My plans of life are still in embryo."[1]

Though his father was a distinguished man of letters, John was never fond of reading; therefore, upon graduation from Harvard he wisely turned his back on Boston and Cambridge and became a gentleman farmer in Stockbridge, the scene of his recent rustication. In that environment he appears to have been more than contented, and there on March 30, 1864, he married Isabella Cowpland Weyman, daughter of John Weyman, of New York; the ceremony was performed at St. Paul's Church by the Reverend Samuel P. Parker.[2] Winthrop once defined a gentleman farmer as "one who has a farm, does not labor, and loses money at it steadily."[3] Except for annual visits (two months in the winter) to Boston, and occasional visits to New York, he spent most of the time on his sightly two hundred acres at Stockbridge. According to his classmate, Dr. George Brune Shattuck:

"He was fond of nature and animals, and understood them. He was bluff, honest, outspoken, straightforward in his manners and conversation—'without any nonsense.' His distinguishing characteristic was plain commonsense and good judgment. He had many of those elements which go to make popularity.

"He was at one time [1888] Representative to the General Court from the Fifth Berkshire District. He was for a number of years, and at the time of his death, President of the Lenox Club; he was also a warden of the Episcopal Church at Stockbridge, of which his classmate Arthur Lawrence was rector.

"Among his neighbors of all classes in Berkshire County, whether the fashionable summer residents who come to Lenox from New York, or the poorer native farmers and laborers of the soil, Winthrop was immensely popular, and without striving to be so. This was largely due to his genuineness, his *bonhomie*.

"Although robust in appearance, he was not always in good health, and he died suddenly at Stockbridge, after returning from a fishing trip to the lakes of Maine, Sept. 18, 1895. His funeral was attended by a great concourse of people of all classes from the countryside. His wife survives him; but he left no children."[4]

To this sketch of him, his brother, Robert C. Winthrop, Jr., adds the following side lights: "With much native intelligence, he had no love of litera-

ture or disposition to mix in general society. A single trip to Europe satiated him with art, and a single term of office as representative of the Fifth Berkshire District in the Massachusetts Legislature tired him of politics. He liked best the quiet life of a gentleman farmer, varied by the conviviality of the well-known Lenox Club, of which he was always one of the most active members, and of late years the president. It was his lot, however, to attain a degree of widespread personal popularity not often enjoyed by more ambitious men. His genial manners, his obliging disposition, his keen sense of humor, handsome figure, and engaging address, all combined to make him a universal favorite, and his death, after a short illness, in his fifty-fifth year, has given rise to exceptional manifestations of sorrow wherever he is known."[5] On another occasion Robert C., Jr., wrote, "Though we had few tastes in common, we were very fond of one another and everyone was fond of him."[6]

A photograph of John Winthrop, which appears to have been taken when he was about fifty years old, is reproduced in the *Report of the Secretary of the Class of 1863 of Harvard College, June, 1893, to June, 1903*, facing page 122.

References

1. Records of the Class of 1863 (Ms.), 943; in the Harvard University Archives. Writing of Class Day, 1863, one of his contemporaries remarked, "The novel feature of the day a tea-fight at Jones's, given by Shattuck, Appleton, Winthrop, Hazeltine and R. Amory." *War Letters 1862–1865 of John Chipman Gray and John Codman Ropes*, 131.
2. *Report of the Secretary of the Class of 1863 of Harvard College, June, 1863, to June, 1888*, 198.
3. *Report of the Secretary of the Class of 1863 of Harvard College, June, 1893, to June, 1903*, 122.
4. *Ibid.*, 123.
5. *Ibid* 124,—quoting from the *Harvard Graduates Magazine*, IV (December, 1895), 294–295.
6. Massachusetts Historical Society *Proceedings*, Second Series, XX. 197.

EGERTON LEIGH[8] WINTHROP (*Benjamin Robert*[7], *Benjamin*[6], *John Still*[5], *John*[4], *Wait Still*[3], *John*[2], *John*[1]), the eldest son of Benjamin Robert and Eliza Ann Coles (Neilson) Winthrop, was born in New York City on Oc-

tober 7, 1838, and was baptized in St. Mark's Church in the Bowery on the following Christmas Day. He was named for his uncle, Dr. Egerton Leigh Winthrop, who had died about four years before. Although most of the Winthrops went either to Harvard or to Yale, this uncle was a graduate of Columbia; quite appropriately his namesake chose Columbia for his college and graduated there in 1860. As a student, he was increasingly proficient: at the beginning of his Sophomore year he was eleventh in a class of fifty; at the beginning of his Junior year he was fourth in a class of forty-three; in his Senior year he was third—one of the five Honor Men—in a class of forty-three. Egerton Winthrop had brains, and he used them.[1]

In 1860–61 Winthrop was a student in the Law Department of Columbia, but did not return for the second year of the course leading to the degree of LL.B. On September 18, 1861, he married Charlotte Troup Bronson, whose father, Frederick Bronson, was a prominent New York lawyer with an office at 64 Merchants' Exchange and a residence at 48 East Fourteenth Street.

Mr. and Mrs. Winthrop lived abroad for a number of years and their first child was born in Paris, France, in the summer of 1862.[2] About 1870 they returned to New York and established themselves at 180 Fifth Avenue; Mr. Winthrop's office was then at 76 Wall Street. Mrs. Winthrop died on February 14, 1872. A year or two later Mr. Winthrop returned to Paris, where his father then resided, and remained abroad most of the time until about 1886. In Paris he lived at 12 Champs Elysées.[3] In 1886 his younger son, Bronson, graduated from the University of Cambridge, England. This severed Mr. Winthrop's principal European tie and he soon came back to New York; thenceforth he made his home at 23 East Thirty-third Street.

Primarily a lawyer, Mr. Winthrop became also a vice president and trustee of the Union Square Savings Bank, a trustee of the Institution for Savings of Merchants' Clerks, and was on the board of the United States Trust Company. He was president of the Knickerbocker Club (1911–1916) and a member of the Metropolitan, Union, Riding, and other clubs, the Century Association, and the St. Nicholas Society. He died on April 6, 1916, "one of our most veritable and respected New Yorkers."[4]

Children:

Egerton Leigh, born in Paris, France, August 14, 1862, A.B., Harvard, 1885, LL.B. Columbia 1887, became a lawyer, married Emmeline Dore

Heckscher, daughter of John G. Heckscher, of New York, July 8, 1890, had issue, and died January 12, 1926. See p. 440.

[Frederic] Bronson, born in Paris, France, December 22, 1863, B.A., University of Cambridge (Trinity College), 1886, LL.B. Columbia, 1891, became a lawyer, and died at Syosset, Long Island, on July 14, 1944. See p. 443.

Charlotte Troup Bronson, born April 17, 1865, married Harry Spencer Cram, November 28, 1892; had issue, and died September 23, 1893.

References

1. *New York Genealogical and Biographical Record*, lxxv (1944), 66; *Catalogue of the Officers and Students of Columbia College*, for the years 1856–1861.
2. *Prominent Families of New York*, 632.
3. *Admissions to Trinity College, Cambridge* (edited by W. W. Rouse Ball and J. A. Venn), v. 673.
4. *Who's Who in New York City and State* (1911); *Reports . . . of The Century Association for the Year 1917*, 16.

Benjamin Robert[8] Winthrop (*Benjamin Robert*[7], *Benjamin*[6], *John Still*[5], *John*[4], *Wait Still*[3], *John*[2], *John*[1]), the second son of Benjamin Robert and Eliza Ann Coles (Neilson) Winthrop, was born in New York City on September 30, 1843. When his parents went to Paris, France, for a few years' sojourn, he matriculated at Queen's College, Oxford (April 19, 1869); though he was then twenty-five years old, he went through and received two degrees, B.A. and M.A. in 1875.[1] After that it is not easy to follow his career. He may have been the Benjamin R. Winthrop who appears in the *New York City Directory* for 1876–77 as a clerk with no recorded place of business but residing at 12 East Twenty-ninth Street. If so, it was his only appearance; no issue, before or since, mentions his existence. Did he live in Paris, France, as various Winthrops did in that period? About all we know is that he is said to have married Joanna Schuyler.

References

1. *Alumni Oxonienses: The Members of the University of Oxford , 1715–1886*, iv. 1591.

William Neilson[8] Winthrop (*Benjamin Robert*[7], *Benjamin*[6], *John Still*[5], *John*[4], *Wait Still*[3], *John*[2], *John*[1]), the youngest son of Ben-

jamin Robert and Eliza Ann Coles (Neilson) Winthrop, was born in New York City on July 11, 1849. He was named for his mother's father, one of the leading insurance executives in the metropolis, and was addressed as "Neilson" by those who knew him. When he was seventeen years old, he entered Columbia College; but at the end of his Freshman year he transferred to the University of Cambridge, England. This change was probably due to his parents' decision to spend a few years in Paris, France. At any rate, Neilson attended Trinity Hall (not Trinity College), Cambridge, and was graduated B.A. in 1871.[1]

Five years later—on June 12, 1876—he married at the Church of the Holy Trinity in Paris, Louise Van Zandt, the elder daughter of Albert Gallatin Van Zandt, of New York and Paris. Her mother was originally Ellen Parker, of Boston. The ceremony was performed by the Reverend John B. Morgan.[2] Mr. and Mrs. Winthrop resided abroad, principally at Nice.

Mr. Winthrop died on March 18, 1915.[3]

Children:

Harold (twin with Gerald), born in January, 1880, probably died young.

Gerald (twin with Harold), born in January, 1880, probably died young.

BERTRAM, born October 18, 1884, in Pau, France, attended the University of Paris (Bachelier-ès-Lettres, 1902, Licencié-en-Droit, 1908), married (1) Mrs. Georgette (Folsom) FitzGibbon and (2) Mrs. Fanny S. (Bayly) Hart, lived abroad, and died at Biarritz, France, November 1, 1940. See p. 446.

References

1. *Catalogue of the Officers and Students of Columbia College for the Year 1866–67*, 17; *Graduati Cantabrigienses* (1872), 445; *The Book of Matriculations and Degrees: a Catalogue of those who have been Matriculated or admitted to any Degree in the University of Cambridge from 1851 to 1900*, 666.
2. *New York Genealogical and Biographical Record*, LXII (1931), 167.
3. *Columbia University Alumni Register, 1754–1931*, 964,—under Winthrop, Neilson.

JOHN[8] WINTHROP (*John*[7], *John*[6], *John*[5], *Adam*[4], *Adam*[3], *Adam*[2], *John*[1]), usually referred to as "Colonel John Winthrop," was born in or near Boston, Massachusetts, on August 27, 1809.[1] He lost his mother before he was four years old; and before he was eight his rather unpractical father

went to England for a sojourn, leaving John and his two sisters in the care of their maiden aunt, Harriet Winthrop. Money was scarce, and in the autumn of 1817 Aunt Harriet decided to accept the invitation of her brother Adam to join him in Baton Rouge, Louisiana. Thither she and the children went, and there they remained until the spring of 1822. In the meantime John's father died.[2]

Returning to Boston in 1822, the boy was provided for by his well-to-do uncle and aunt, Mr. and Mrs. James Andrews; Mrs. Andrews was his father's sister Sarah ("Sally"). John attended the Boston Latin School and later Brown University, where he was elected a member of Phi Beta Kappa.[3] After graduating from Brown in 1828 Winthrop returned to Louisiana, studied law in Baton Rouge, and established himself as a lawyer in New Orleans. The *New-Orleans Directory for 1841* lists him as "John D. Winthrop," with the following identification: "clerk of the United States District Court for the Eastern District of Louisiana, dwelling 81 Royal." In 1833 he sold to the United States the remainder of Governor's Island in Boston Harbor; part of it had already been purchased by the government in 1808. At the time of the final transfer, the land had been in the Winthrop family continuously for over two hundred years.[4]

John Winthrop prospered in his profession, especially in admiralty law; when the Mexican War (1846–48) came on, he was appointed to General Taylor's staff with the rank of colonel. After the war he lived in New Orleans until 1854 and then moved to Newport, Rhode Island. From 1854 on, he divided his time between Newport, Cuba, and Europe.[5]

Elected into the Massachusetts Historical Society in 1838, Colonel Winthrop was for a number of years its senior Corresponding Member. About 1874 his kinsman, Robert C. Winthrop, then president of the Society, obtained from him the permanent loan of some interesting letters written by John Adams to Professor John Winthrop in 1775–76. These, with Professor Winthrop's replies, were published in volume IV of the Fifth Series of the Society's *Collections*. Colonel Winthrop contributed also a letter from Benjamin Franklin to Professor Winthrop, and the reply to it; these were printed in volume XV of the *Proceedings*.[6]

Colonel Winthrop married Sarah Catharine Gale, daughter of Levy H. Gale, a commission merchant of New Orleans.[7] Soon after the Colonel's death, which occurred at Providence, Rhode Island, on March 12, 1886,

Robert C. Winthrop wrote of him: "A man of convivial habits and great personal popularity, he was warmly interested in this Society, of which his great-uncle Judge James Winthrop had been one of the founders. . . . He has left a widow, but no children; and the male line of this branch of the Winthrop family is now extinct."[8] Thus the male line that descended from Governor John Winthrop's son Adam came to an end.

In 1944 Colonel Winthrop's grandnephew, Dr. Halsey De Wolf, of Providence, wrote the author of the present work, "I remember him very well, and especially the fact that in appearance he was almost a replica of Chancellor Bismarck."

References

1. Joseph James Muskett, *Suffolk Manorial Families*, I. 26; *Historical Catalogue of Brown University, 1764–1904*, 154.
2. Winthrop Papers (Boston Public Library), III. 21, 39, 45.
3. Henry F. Jenks, *Catalogue of the Boston Public Latin School*, 165; *Historical Catalogue of Brown University, 1764–1904*, 154.
4. M. F. Sweetser, *King's Handbook of Boston Harbor*, 148.
5. Massachusetts Historical Society *Proceedings*, Second Series, II. 390*n*.
6. Massachusetts Historical Society *Proceedings*, XIII (1873–75), 263, 329; Second Series, II. 390*n*.
7. Joseph James Muskett, *Suffolk Manorial Families*, I. 26; *New-Orleans Directory for 1841*, 79.
8. Massachusetts Historical Society *Proceedings*, Second Series, II. 390*n*.

CHAPTER IX

The Ninth Generation

THOMAS] BUCHANAN[9] WINTHROP (*Henry Rogers*[8], *John Still*[7], *Francis Bayard*[6], *John Still*[5], *John*[4], *Wait Still*[3], *John*[2], *John*[1]), the only son of Henry Rogers Winthrop, was born in New York City on November 11, 1841. His mother was one of the daughters of Thomas and Martha (Buchanan) Hicks,—which makes it fairly clear why the child was named Thomas Buchanan Winthrop. In the course of time he dropped the Thomas, and for the rest of his life was simply Buchanan Winthrop.

Following in the footsteps of his highly successful father, Buchanan entered Yale College in 1858 and graduated in 1862, ranking fifth or sixth in a class of about one hundred.[1] While an undergraduate Winthrop was elected into Scroll and Key, and Psi Upsilon; and like his father, he was a member of Phi Beta Kappa. In his Junior year he roomed with Charles Phelps Williams of Stonington, Connecticut, who did not graduate but became a prosperous and genial broker in New York City; in his Senior year Winthrop's roommate was William Wallace Seely of Beverly, Ohio, who became Dean of the Faculty of the Medical College of Ohio, at Cincinnati, and a well-known summer resident at Bar Harbor, Maine. Another close friend was Robert Kelley Weeks, of New York, a shy individualist who became a poet and died at thirty-five.[2] After graduation Winthrop studied at the Columbia College Law School and became an LL.B. in 1864.[3] Shortly thereafter he entered his father's office and was associated with him in the care of large estates.

Mr. Winthrop spent the summers of 1869 and 1871 in Europe, and on June 4, 1872, married Sarah ("Sallie") Helen Townsend of New York City; she was the daughter of Isaac and Mary (Austen) Townsend. Mr. and Mrs. Winthrop spent the following year in Europe, a place of residence favored by many of the Winthrops in the 1870's. Upon their return to America they established themselves at 279 Fifth Avenue, his father's house. At first they spent their summers at Newport; later on they maintained a country place at Lenox, Massachusetts.[4]

Buchanan Winthrop was a devoted friend of Yale University. As early as 1871 he established two annual prizes, for members of the Junior class in the

College, "for the most thorough acquaintance with the Greek and Latin poets," as shown at an examination in the third term. These carried stipends of $200 and $100 and were named the Winthrop Prizes. During the first decade after graduation he was the largest contributor in the Class of 1862 to the Woolsey Fund.[5] From 1891 on he was a Fellow of Yale University, elected by the alumni, and for several years a member of the Prudential Committee. He was also Treasurer of the General Convention of the Protestant Episcopal Church in the United States, a vestryman of Grace Church, and an active trustee of the Metropolitan Museum of Art and of several hospitals and charitable institutions. He was one of the founders of the University Club of New York and a member of the Union, Metropolitan, Tuxedo, Down Town, New York Yacht, and Riding Clubs, the Century Association, the New England Society, and the Association of the Bar of the City of New York.[6]

"He was a man of great intellectual power, of broad culture, refined tastes, of scholarly habit, a constant student and reader with a memory that retained all he had read. His keen sense of humor, lively disposition, abounding geniality, high character and unswerving loyalty drew to him a host of friends who saw in him a man who stood for all that was pure and of good report, and who deserved in the highest degree the love and esteem in which he was held."[7]

Mr. Winthrop died at his home, 279 Fifth Avenue, on December 25, 1900, after an operation for appendicitis. He was fifty-nine years old. Burial was in the St. John and St. Andrew's Episcopal Cemetery in Stamford, Connecticut, where his father was buried. Mrs. Winthrop died at Newport, Rhode Island, on October 14, 1916.[8]

Children:

Marie Austen, born July 13, 1873, married October 6, 1910, Morris W. Kellogg (M.E., Stevens Institute of Technology, 1894), and had issue.

Henry Rogers, born at Newport, Rhode Island, July 2, 1876, B.A., Yale, 1898, married Alice Woodward Babcock, October 3, 1905, and had issue. In 1907 he became a partner in Harris, Winthrop & Co., bankers, of New York. In the course of his career he has been a director in many corporations and a member of the Governing Committee of the New York Stock Exchange. During the first World War he was commissioned major, U. S. Army, and was Senior Assistant Military Attaché in London; he received the British Distinguished Service Order and later the Conspicuous Service Cross. He was also made a Commander of the Royal Order of the Crown (Italian). In

1927 he published a valuable genealogy entitled *Ancestors of Henry Rogers Winthrop and his Wife, Alice Woodward Babcock, compiled for their Daughter, Alice Winthrop*. It was compiled by Josephine C. Frost, and is usually referred to as the "Winthrop-Babcock Genealogy."

References

1. *Catalogue of the Officers and Students in Yale College, 1862–63*, 58.
2. *Fifty Years' Meeting of the Yale Class of 1862*, 91; *The Twenty Years' Record of the Yale Class of 1862*, 131–132.
3. Josephine C. Frost, *Ancestors of Henry Rogers Winthrop and his Wife, Alice Woodward Babcock*, 15.
4. *The Twenty Years' Record of the Yale Class of 1862*, 135; *Prominent Families of New York*, 631.
5. *Decennial Meeting of the Class of 1862, Yale*, 75.
6. *Obituary Record of Graduates of Yale University Deceased from June, 1900, to June, 1910*, 62–63.
7. *Reports . . . of The Century Association for the Year 1900*, 49.
8. *Obituary Record of Graduates of Yale University Deceased from June, 1900, to June, 1910*, 63; Josephine C. Frost, *Ancestors of Henry Rogers Winthrop*, 15.

JOHN STILL[9] WINTHROP (*John Still*[8], *John Still*[7], *Francis Bayard*[6], *John Still*[5], *John*[4], *Wait Still*[3], *John*[2], *John*[1]), of Tallahassee, the only son of John Still and Evelyn Susan (Armistead) Winthrop to live to maturity, was born in New Bern, North Carolina, on March 31, 1848. In 1874, when he was twenty-six years old, he married Clémence Lilia Chouteau, daughter of Henry and Clémence Georgina (Coursault) Chouteau, of St. Louis, Missouri. Mr. Winthrop was a planter in Tallahassee, Florida,—where he died on February 11, 1920.[1]

Children:

John Still, born in 1875, died in 1879.

Evelyn Susan, born August 21, 1877, married on December 22, 1904, James Henry Randolph (A.B., Florida State College, 1900; M.D., The Johns Hopkins University, 1904), of Tallahassee, Florida, and had issue. Dr. and Mrs. Randolph made their home in Jacksonville, Florida.[2]

Chouteau Henry, born in 1879, died in 1880.

Gilman Joseph, born August 15, 1881, became B.A., University of the South, in 1902, and M.D., The Johns Hopkins University, in 1906. In 1906–08

he was an interne in the Gouverneur Hospital, New York City. Later he established himself as a physician and surgeon in Mobile, Alabama, and from 1909 until 1920 was associated with the School of Medicine of the University of Alabama. In 1916 he was appointed Professor of Gynecology in that institution. He died on April 7, 1925.[3]

Francis Bayard, born June 18, 1884, in Tallahassee, died without issue, January 19, 1936, in Thomasville, Georgia. Yale University gives the following data in regard to his education and career:

"Leon High School and West Florida Seminary, Tallahassee; B.A. Florida State College 1903; attended Yale School of Law 1903–06 (member *Yale Law Journal* board, Kent Club, Phi Delta Phi, and Corbey Court); admitted to Florida State Bar December 11, 1906, and had since practiced in Tallahassee; city councilman of Tallahassee 1908–09 and mayor 1909–10; member of State Legislature 1910–12; assistant state's attorney 1916–20; member executive council Florida State Bar Association 1915–16; attended Field Artillery Central Officers' Training Camp, Camp Zachary Taylor, Ky., August, 1918, to November 26, 1918; member American Bar Association, Tallahassee Bar Association, Tallahassee Chamber of Commerce, and Blessed Sacrament Roman Catholic Church.

"Married June 22, 1910, in Tallahassee, Gertrude, daughter of Simeon Dudley and Jane (Butler) Chittenden, of Guilford, Conn. No children.

"Death due to streptococcus septicemia endocarditis. Buried in Episcopal Cemetery, Tallahassee."[4]

Guy Louis, born June 26, 1886, became A.B., Florida State College, in 1903, and Ph.B. and C.E., Yale University, in 1905 and 1907 respectively. When a student in the Junior class at Yale (Sheffield Scientific School), he was awarded honors in French. About 1930 he was a civil engineer in Tallahassee, Florida, living with his mother at 610 North Monroe Street.[5]

John Still, born in 1888, died in the same year.

Norbert S., born in 1893, died in the same year.

References

1. Ellery Kirke Taylor, *The Lion and the Hare*, chart G, column 9. *Bulletin of Yale University. Obituary Record of Graduates Deceased during the Year Ending July 1, 1936*, 218.

2. *Ibid.*; *Graduates and Fellows of The Johns Hopkins University, 1876–1913*, 46.

3. *Graduates and Fellows of The Johns Hopkins University, 1876–1913*, 54; *The Johns Hopkins Alumni Magazine*, XIV (1925–26), 357. *University of Alabama General Catalogue*, for various years from 1909 to 1921. R. L. Polk & Co.'s *Mobile City Directory 1920*.

4. *Bulletin of Yale University. Obituary Record of Graduates Deceased during the Year Ending July 1, 1936*, 218–219.

5. *Five Year Record: Class of Nineteen Hundred and Five, Sheffield Scientific School, Yale University*, 144; *Polk's Tallahassee City Directory 1930–31*.

JOHN STILL[9] WINTHROP (*Charles Edward Rogers*[8], *John Still*[7], *Francis Bayard*[6], *John Still*[5], *John*[4], *Wait Still*[3], *John*[2], *John*[1]), of Illinois, the eldest son of Judge Charles Edward Rogers and Delilah (Lipe) Winthrop, was born on October 21, 1844,—presumably in the log house his New York-born father had built for himself a few years before in Paradise Prairie, Illinois. On October 22, 1868, he married Mary A. Padrick; they had several children. Mr. Winthrop died on July 19, 1896.[1]

Children:

Charles Oscar, born July 29, 1869, married Margaret W. Gee, on March 24, 1892, and had issue (three sons).

Effie, born September 13, 1871, married Solomon T. Walker, of Oregon, and had issue.

John C., born October 4, 1873, married Laura L. Webb on July 8, 1916, and had issue (three sons).

Elza E., born April 11, 1877, married Louis Williams on December 25, 1901, and had issue.

Isaac E., born in 1875, died in 1876.

Katharine L., born July 1, 1879, married Edgar E. Cockrum on March 14, 1903, and had issue.

Walter Scott, born in 1882, died in 1883.

Ellen Gertrude, born December 28, 1884, at Tamaroa, Illinois, married Harry Yoder on December 28, 1927, at Freeport, Illinois.

Grace V., born April 8, 1888, married Herbert H. Hause, of Duquoin, Illinois, on November 1, 1908, and had issue.

Zellah Pearl, born September 27, 1890, married Arthur A. Grant on August 29, 1922, and had issue.

Ilah Bertha, born July 24, 1893, married Leslie Loran Clark on October 12, 1917.

References

1. Ellery Kirke Taylor, *The Lion and the Hare*, chart G, columns 9, 10, and 11

CHARLES EDWARD ROGERS[9] WINTHROP (*Charles Edward Rogers*[8], *John Still*[7], *Francis Bayard*[6], *John Still*[5], *John*[4], *Wait Still*[3], *John*[2], *John*[1]), the second son of Judge Charles Edward Rogers Winthrop of Perry County, Illinois, was born on July 10, 1847,—possibly in Paradise Prairie,

Illinois, but presumably at Tamaroa in Perry County. He married Nancy J. Kirkpatrick, at Mulkeytown, Illinois, had issue, and died on July 2, 1877, when he was not quite thirty years old. His widow, who was born in 1853, died in 1936.[1]

Child:

Claudia, born September 21, 1871, married Cassius Clay White, of Buffalo, Kansas, and had issue. She was married at Fall River, Kansas.

References

1. Ellery Kirke Taylor, *The Lion and the Hare*, chart G, columns 9, 10, and 11.

HENRY ROGERS[9] WINTHROP (*Charles Edward Rogers*[8], *John Still*[7], *Francis Bayard*[6], *John Still*[5], *John*[4], *Wait Still*[3], *John*[2], *John*[1]), the youngest son of Judge Charles Edward Rogers Winthrop of Perry County, Illinois, was born on August 30, 1852,—presumably at Tamaroa in Perry County. On October 18, 1876, he married Martha Hudson; like his father before him, he had several children, including three sons. He was the sheriff of Perry County, and died at Tamaroa, Illinois, on January 18, 1932.[1]

Children:

Carrie Elma, born February 13, 1877, was living in Tamaroa about 1940.

Dempsey, born July 10, 1878, married Bessie Williams on January 5, 1910. He was a sheriff and a member of the Legislature.

Hanlan, born December 4, 1880, married Grace M. Hempleman on September 16, 1903.

Daphne Beatrice, born in 1884, died in 1885.

Stella Myrtle, born in 1887, died in 1888.

Elsie E., born April 20, 1890, married Hammond D. Marlow on January 21, 1917, had issue, and died in 1924.

Sylvia Lillian, born March 15, 1892, at Tamaroa, Illinois, married Marvin T. Griffith (1890–1928) on October 20, 1916, and had issue. Mr. Griffith was a bank cashier.

Henry Buchanan, born August 12, 1894, married Leola Loretta Stanford on December 26, 1917. About 1940 he was associated with the Standard Oil Company at Duquoin, Illinois.

Claude Hudson, born December 3, 1896, married Grace Provart on December 30, 1917.

References

1. Ellery Kirke Taylor, *The Lion and the Hare*, chart G, columns 9, 10, and 11.

FREDERICK WALLER[9] WINTHROP (*William Henry*[8], *William Henry*[7], *Francis Bayard*[6], *John Still*[5], *John*[4], *Wait Still*[3], *John*[2], *John*[1]) was born on December 28, 1856, presumably at New London, Connecticut. He married Augusta Barry, and died on June 24, 1929.[1]

Children:

Mary Alice, born March 17, 1879, married (1) Horace W. Beebe, and had issue; married (2) William Thomas, of The Golden Spur, Waterford, Connecticut.

Frederick Waller, born in 1881, died in 1883.

Sarah, born in 1884, died in 1890.

William H., born January 25, 1886, was residing in Ozone Park, Long Island, New York, about 1940.

Helen, born September 6, 1889, was residing in Ozone Park, Long Island, New York, about 1940.

Gertrude, born December 13, 1894, married Carl H. French, had issue, and was residing in New London about 1940.

References

1. Ellery Kirke Taylor, *The Lion and the Hare*, chart G, column 9.

HENRY C.[9] WINTHROP (*William Henry*[8], *William Henry*[7], *Francis Bayard*[6], *John Still*[5], *John*[4], *Wait Still*[3], *John*[2], *John*[1]) was born on February 19, 1862, presumably at New London, Connecticut. He married Josephine LeViness, daughter of Aaron J. LeViness, and was residing in New London about 1940.[1]

Children:

Merrill Whiton, born at New London, March 27, 1893, married (1) Marion Gilmore, on October 22, 1915, and had issue; married (2) Mary Lamb, of Westerly, Rhode Island.

Henry Chappell, born August 17, 1895, married Florence M. Peabody, of Waterford, Connecticut, on September 25, 1924.

Margaret L., born February 1, 1900, married Louis Pendleton, of Kentucky, on October 26, 1920.

References

1. Ellery Kirke Taylor, *The Lion and the Hare*, chart G, column 9.

ROBERT DUDLEY[9] WINTHROP (*Robert*[8], *Thomas Charles*[7], *Francis Bayard*[6], *John Still*[5], *John*[4], *Wait Still*[3], *John*[2], *John*[1]), the eldest son of Robert and Kate Wilson (Taylor) Winthrop, was born in New York City on July 22, 1861. Although most of the Winthrops born after 1720 were descended from both Thomas Dudley and his unpopular son Joseph, this is, as far as we know, the first instance where that fact was given prominence by using Dudley as part of a Winthrop's name. Robert Dudley Winthrop's father was a successful New York banker and the founder of Robert Winthrop & Company. The boy prepared for college at Duane S. Everson's School in New York and was admitted to Harvard College in June, 1879.

As a member of the Class of 1883 he was well liked, and was elected into the Institute of 1770, D.K.E., Hasty Pudding, Natural History Society, and St. Paul's Society. In the winter of 1882 he was runner-up for the heavyweight wrestling championship. During all four years, he roomed and boarded at Mrs. Brown's, on the corner of Brattle and Story Streets; among his close associates were Richard Dudley Sears, Charles Mifflin Hammond, Gardiner Greene Hammond, and William Pratt Lyman.[1] Immediately after graduation, in the summer of 1883, he went abroad for a few months. Upon his return he went to work in his father's bank, and on January 1, 1884—at the age of twenty-two—he was admitted to the firm.[2] He continued to be a member as long as he lived.

In the War with Spain, in 1898, Winthrop served as aide-de-camp—with rank of captain—on the staff of Major General J. J. Coppinger, who commanded the 4th Army Corps. He received his discharge on November 1, 1898, when General Coppinger was retired.

In the eighteen-nineties and the early nineteen-hundreds Mr. Winthrop traveled considerably in this country, in Europe, and in Mexico; every year he went to Ireland for the hunting season. He belonged to the Knickerbocker, Metropolitan, Union, University, Harvard, Meadow Brook Hunt,

Athletic, and Down Town Clubs of New York, and the Somerset Club of Boston. He maintained a country place at Westbury, Long Island, and a large farm in Allendale County, South Carolina. He was much interested in horse breeding. In town he lived at his mother's residence, 38 East Thirty-seventh Street, New York City, and there he died on April 16, 1912, from heart disease, after an illness of several months.[3]

Robert Dudley Winthrop was unmarried. Photographs of him, taken in 1883 and in 1898, are reproduced in *Class of 1883, Harvard College, Sixth Report*, facing page 202. A portrait by Daniel Huntington, reproduced here, is owned by his nephew, Robert Winthrop of New York.

References

1. *Harvard Graduates' Magazine*, XX (1911–12), 711.
2. *Harvard College. Class of 1883. Secretary's Report. No. 1, passim*, and *No. 2*, 78.
3. *Class of 1883, Harvard College, Sixth Report*, 203–204.

GRENVILLE LINDALL[9] WINTHROP (*Robert*[8], *Thomas Charles*[7], *Francis Bayard*[6], *John Still*[5], *John*[4], *Wait Still*[3], *John*[2], *John*[1]), the second son of Robert and Kate Wilson (Taylor) Winthrop, was born in New York City on February 11, 1864. He was named for his father's brother, Grenville, and for an eighteenth-century ancestor, Timothy Lindall, of Salem, Massachusetts, who had left more or less property to the children of John Still Winthrop, of New London, Connecticut.

Grenville prepared for college at Everson's Collegiate School in New York, and was admitted to Harvard in 1882. During his Freshman year in Cambridge he roomed in the same house—48 Brattle Street—with his brother Robert, who was then a Senior; for his Sophomore year he moved to 21 Beck Hall, where he continued to room throughout the remainder of his undergraduate course. His clubs were the Institute of 1770, Hasty Pudding, and Porcellian; also Alpha Delta Phi and the Art Club. As a student he was better than the average, and when he received his Bachelor's degree in 1886 it was conferred on him *cum laude*,—and with "honorable mention" in Natural History. In his Sophomore year he took Professor Charles Eliot Norton's celebrated course in Ancient Art, Fine Arts 3; and in his

Robert Dudley Winthrop

Senior year, Fine Arts 4, a half-course in Florentine Art, and Fine Arts 5, a half-course in Venetian Art.[1] This introduction to the Fine Arts exerted great influence on Winthrop's later life.

After graduating with the Class of 1886, Winthrop studied law for two years at the Harvard Law School and received the degree of LL.B. in 1889; he was admitted to the New York Bar in October, 1889. At the end of his second year in the Law School he had entered the law office of John E. Parsons (subsequently Parsons, Shepard & Ogden) in New York City, where he remained for three or four years. In April, 1892, he formed a partnership with James B. Ludlow and Frederic D. Phillips, for the general practice of law, with offices at 45 Cedar Street. This connection continued until 1896. Before 1898 he had joined the banking house of Robert Winthrop & Company at 40 Wall Street.[2]

On June 2, 1892, when he was twenty-eight years old, Mr. Winthrop married Mary Tallmadge Trevor, at Yonkers, New York. She was the daughter of John B. and Emily (Norwood) Trevor. She died on December 1,1900, and he never remarried. He always had a house in New York City, but his beautiful estate at Lenox, Massachusetts, was the place that was dearest to his heart, and Lenox benefited enormously because of his sentiment for that lovely region of the Berkshire Hills. In 1903 he became a member of the Board of Managers of its Town Library Association, and he was elected president of it in 1915. It was he who restored the one-time courthouse in Lenox, the present library building; built in 1816, it is "said to have been surpassed in stateliness and elegance by few of its kind in all New England." He it was, too, who restored to their original beauty the Congregational meeting-house and the Lenox Academy building. Mr. Winthrop never wearied of doing good things for the community. Another of his benefactions was his purchase of the top of Bald Head mountain in order to preserve the forest and the scenery.[3]

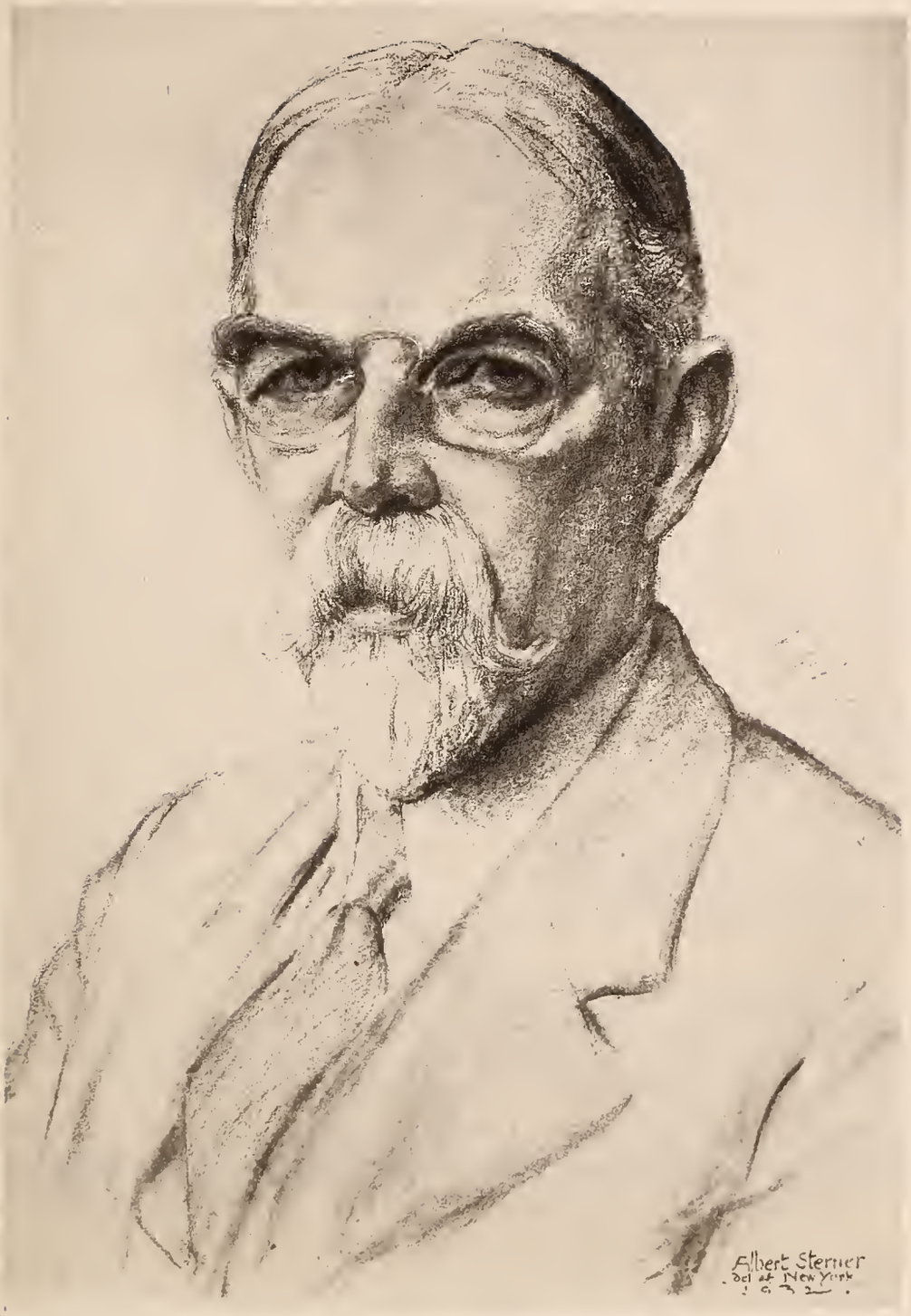
Anything beautiful appealed to Mr. Winthrop, and often its beauty was increased through his interest and efforts. So it was with the place at Lenox. Nature had endowed it with great beauty and with possibilities of even greater beauty. He saw both, and developed the latter by wise and careful planting. Nearly all the trees at "Groton Place," as he called it, were set out by him. His treatment of the landscape was so successful that in 1934 the

Massachusetts Horticultural Society awarded him its H. H. Hunnewell gold medal.

What Grenville Winthrop did for his beloved Lenox alone was sufficient to give him special distinction among the distinguished Winthrops of his generation; yet the Lenox activities were really only a side issue in his life work. What counted most with him was the creation of an art collection, one that reflected his own interest in and appreciation of various kinds of beautiful things made by man in various periods of history and in various parts of the world. In this he succeeded so well, and so quietly, that when Charles Ricketts, a renowned British painter, sculptor, and engraver, visited the United States he declared that his "discovery" of the Winthrop Collection was the most surprising event of his trip. Such variety is seldom seen in the works of art assembled by a single connoisseur: they included a Chaldean head dating from the Gudea period (*ca.* 3000 B.C.); Chinese jades and bronzes of the archaic period; Persian reliefs of the fifth century B.C. (probably from the stairway of Artaxerxes at Persepolis); Hittite bronzes; specimens of Mayan and early Peruvian art; English furniture of the eighteenth century; Wedgwood ware; masterpieces by the French painters, David, Géricault, Delacroix, Prud'hon, Chasseriau, Ingres, and Renoir; drawings by Rembrandt and drawings by Sargent; Winslow Homers; and celebrated paintings such as the Peale portrait of General Washington, the Duplessis portrait of Benjamin Franklin, and Watts's "Sir Galahad." In the course of time more than 4000 items had been got together by Mr. Winthrop and were housed for the most part in his mansion at 15 East Eighty-first Street. "Every object which he acquired," writes Miss Agnes Mongan of Harvard's Fogg Museum of Art, "whether ancient, mediaeval or modern, he purchased because some quality in the object appealed to him. The result is that there emanates from his collection an air of liveliness, variety, and unity of which even the inexperienced and not-too-sensitive museum visitor before long becomes unmistakably aware."[4]

Quite the most satisfactory review of the Winthrop Collection and the most illuminating appreciation of Grenville Lindall Winthrop himself comes from the pen of his friend Professor Paul J. Sachs of Harvard University. It reads, in part:

> Mr. Winthrop was the particular bright exemplar in our country of the true connoisseur, the knowing amateur. His instinct and sense of quality account for



Grenville Lindall Winthrop

his astonishing success. Through long practice and by constant comparison, he had trained his sensitive eye and with courageous enthusiasm strengthened his rare judgment. He shared my conviction that for the beginner it is the training of the eye which counts and that the eye is best trained through an intimate knowledge of the best. Year after year he watched these beginners. Either during the Christmas holidays or the spring recess he received Harvard and Radcliffe students at his house. Each individual was given a gracious greeting as he entered the wonderful reception rooms with their eighteenth and nineteenth century paintings and fine English furniture. As they made their way to the rest of the house through the corridors with the magnificent Oriental jades and sculptures and beneath the impressive rows of Winthrop family portraits (which have, appropriately, remained in the family), Mr. Winthrop observed the young people, at a discreet distance listening to their comments, answering questions when asked, but asking none. There was a single exception. When the visitors came to the library on the second floor, he managed to elicit an expression of opinion on a portrait of a distinguished bearded gentleman in a seventeenth century ruff, the portrait of their host painted "yesterday" by Rougeron the restorer.

In the catalogues that will one day be published credit will be given wherever possible to the friends with whom Mr. Winthrop took counsel and to that limited group of dealers through whom his treasure was acquired—the men to whom, he was wont to say with exquisite courtesy and unfailing generosity, he owed far more than the opportunity to acquire objects. First and foremost, he would have singled out his friend Martin Birnbaum, who for years was indefatigable in his quest here and abroad. He would have wished to mention also Brummer, Loo, Miya, Scott, Tanaka, and Wildenstein. Throughout his life he shared his enthusiasms, exchanged views or carried on correspondence with those friends in whose judgment and taste he had confidence—S. C. Bosch Reitz, Royal Cortissoz, Luke Vincent Lockwood, Paul Manship, Albert Sterner, Augustus Vincent Tack, Daniel Berkeley Updike, and many others.

In all that he did he was meticulous. In the papers that have come to the Fogg Museum with the collection this is amply demonstrated. Not only have we the letters he received, but there are copies in his own beautiful hand of the letters which he wrote to those who were interested in his collection or helpful to him in its formation. In no single instance is there a typewritten communication. Everything is in long hand. In the written as in the spoken word Grenville Lindall Winthrop invariably conveyed the utmost courtesy and consideration.

. . . . .

Yet for all the advice and counsel of friends, there is vivid visual proof that Mr. Winthrop, the most catholic collector of his generation, had distinct personal taste and judgment.

He was started on his collector's road as a Harvard undergraduate by Charles Eliot Norton. For him collecting became a noble vocation, the breath of life, and a source of deep satisfaction. With Norton's nephew, the print collector Francis Bullard, he shared his first enthusiasm, that for Turner's *Liber Studiorum*. It was Norton also who aroused his interest in all the Pre-Raphaelites. Mr. Winthrop's interest in both never failed. Those who had the privilege of visiting his summer home in Lenox, with its beautiful lawns and noble trees where the movement of

pheasants and not flowers gave the notes of color, saw in the bedrooms Turner's prints in perfect impressions. There in his own living quarters were exquisite examples of Dürer's woodcuts.

As the years passed, Mr. Winthrop came to Ingres and to much that his first teacher had neither talked of nor thought about. The Winthrop collection of paintings and drawings by Ingres is comparable only to the one bequeathed to his native city, Bayonne, by the French painter Bonnat, and to what may be seen at the museums in Montauban and Paris. Second only to the Ingres group is the collection of David.

These two great leaders of the early nineteenth century introduce the richly endowed and exciting nucleus of nineteenth century artists. Yet they form only one of the groups in this astonishing collection. There may be those in the present generation who may find the Oriental collection more to their liking than the Pre-Raphaelite; who may prefer the Pre-Columbian objects to the work of Gustave Moreau; the Daumiers to Beardsley; the Blakes to the Italian primitives; the Persepolis sculpture to the eighteenth century Sèvres busts. Mr. Winthrop was well aware of this. He knew that taste changes, that the pendulum swings back and forth. He knew that "universities outlive governments." Since he collected for a university only one thing seemed of importance, that objects be the best of their kind and that, as he used to say, they have "music" in them.

The enthusiasm with which highly trained specialists comment upon the material of their given fields attests Mr. Winthrop's success in selecting the best. A few illustrations must suffice. The connoisseur's interest in Pre-Columbian sculpture is recent. Scholars of this particular field are eloquent about the significance and the quality of the enigmatic Mexican carved stone yokes, the Maya masks, the Peruvian pottery. The Blake specialists make similar statements about the fifty-three water colors; the Wedgwood enthusiasts about the Wedgwood collection; those whose field is the nineteenth century about the Chausseriaus, the Rodins, the Whistlers and the Homers.

Visitors who have entered the 81st Street house will never forget either their host's quiet courtesy or the extraordinary impression created by all this vast treasure of sculpture, painting, drawings, furniture, and books.[5]

According to after-dinner gossip, the Winthrop Collection was to have gone to the Metropolitan Museum in New York, but was deflected by a difference of opinion between Mr. Winthrop and the trustees. Another version is that the trustees would not accept it on the terms he had in mind,—that the mansion on Eighty-first Street should continue to house the works of art and that the building and the contents should remain a separate entity though owned by the Metropolitan. Whatever truth, if any, there may be in these allegations, it is certain that many years before his death Mr. Winthrop made up his mind to bequeath his collection to Harvard University. In order to prevent the possibility of any misunderstanding, he asked President Lowell if such a bequest would be accepted; and about 1934 he put

the same question to President Conant. All the time he continued to collect with that end in view. After his death it became the property of the President and Fellows of Harvard College and is now housed principally in the Fogg Museum of Art. The bequest was accompanied by a handsome endowment of $100,000.

In the Winthrop Collection there are at least two portraits of its original owner. One is the work of his lifelong friend, Augustus Vincent Tack; it is in oil and is life-size. The other—reproduced here—is a drawing by Albert Sterner, done in 1932. Both are now in the Fogg Museum. Each is entirely satisfactory, and in each it is the subject's eyes that arrest one's attention and hold one's interest. Even the old-fashioned pince-nez which Mr. Winthrop habitually wore does not seriously detract from the power and expressiveness of the blue eyes behind them. They are indeed the eyes of an unusual man, a man ever on the lookout for something beautiful and rare, a man accustomed to having his own way, and a man determined to have it if opposed.

Mr. Winthrop's clubs in New York included the Knickerbocker, Metropolitan, Racquet, Grolier, Harvard, University, and the Century Association; he also belonged to the Somerset Club, in Boston, and to the Massachusetts Historical Society. His principal charitable organization was the Woman's Hospital, of which he was president from 1915 until 1941, and then president emeritus.

Grenville Lindall Winthrop died at his New York residence on January 19, 1943; he was seventy-eight years old,—within a few weeks of being seventy-nine.

Children:

Emily Lindall, born March 10, 1893, married Corey Lucien Miles, September 6, 1924. No issue.

Kate, born December 9, 1899, married Darwin Spurr Morse, September 6, 1924, and has issue.

References

1. Harvard University Archives.

2. *Harvard College. Class of 1886. Secretary's Report. No. II*, 59, and *No. III*, 61.

3. R. De Witt Mallary, *Lenox and the Berkshire Highlands*, 2; *New York Times*, January 20, 1943.

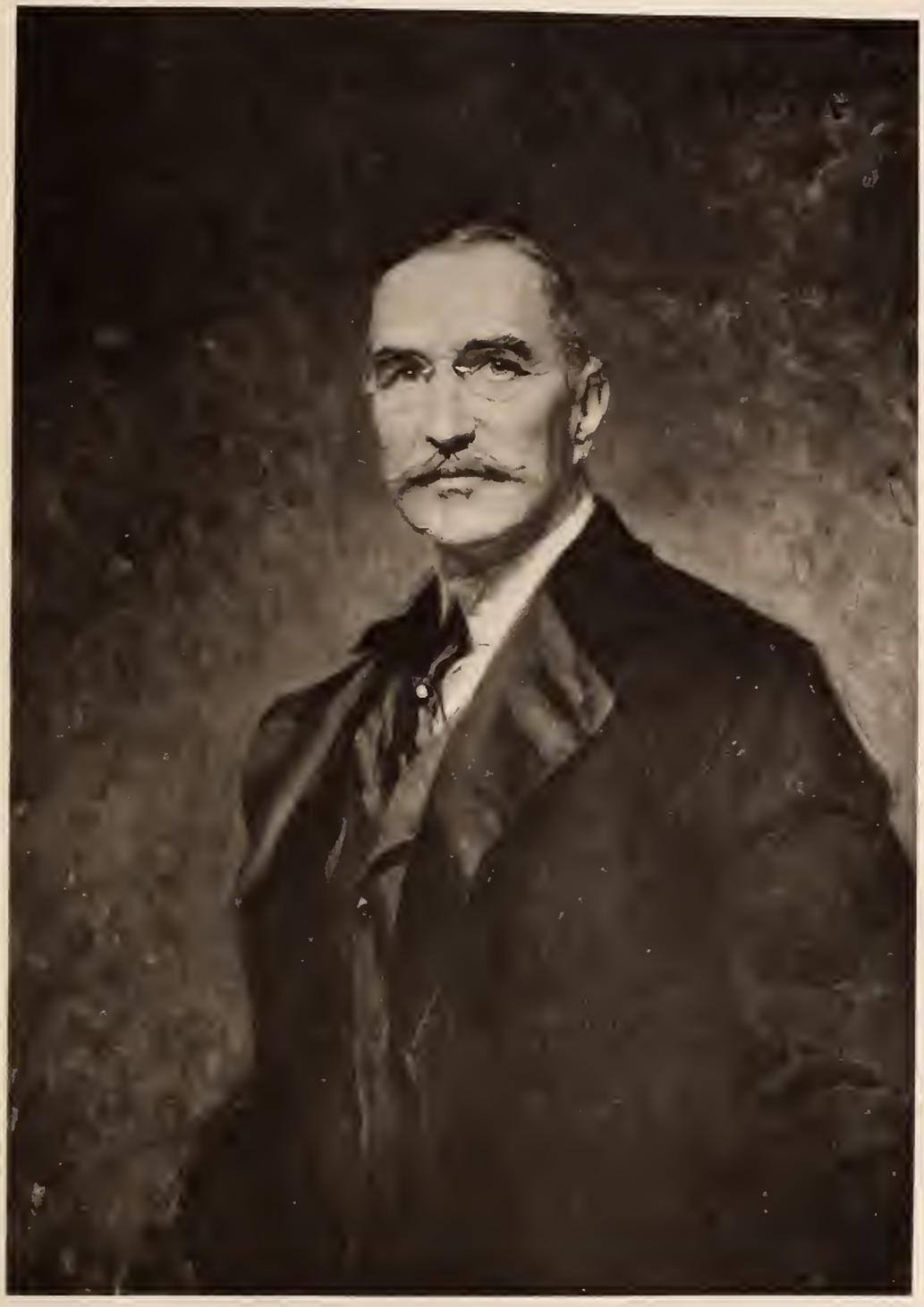
4. *Art News*, XLII, No. 16 (January 1–14, 1944).

5. *Ibid.* The Art Foundation has generously permitted these quotations from articles by Professor Sachs and Miss Mongan published in *Art News*.

FREDERIC [BAYARD] WINTHROP[9] (*Robert*[8], *Thomas Charles*[7], *Francis Bayard*[6], *John Still*[5], *John*[4], *Wait Still*[3], *John*[2], *John*[1]), the third son of Robert and Kate Wilson (Taylor) Winthrop, was born in New York City on November 15, 1868. It is safe to assume that he was named primarily for his uncle General Frederick Winthrop, who made a noble record in the United States Army and was killed in action a few days before Lee surrendered at Appomattox Court House. His middle name, which he dropped when he was in his twenties, came down to him from his great-grandfather Francis Bayard Winthrop, who had placed the family fortune on a very firm basis.

Like his older brothers, Robert and Grenville, Fred prepared for college at Duane S. Everson's School in New York. He entered Harvard in the autumn of 1887, with the Class of 1891, and soon distinguished himself as an athlete. Tall and lean, but powerfully built and well proportioned for a boy of his age,—he weighed 160 pounds or a little over,—"Freddie" Winthrop was a member of his Class crew in his Sophomore year; in his Junior year he made the Varsity crew and rowed against Yale at New London. The strain and tension of the training was too much for his constitution at this time, and taking the advice of his physician he did not try for the crew in his Senior year. In the spring of 1892, however, when he was in the Law School, he rowed on the Varsity again. Yet Winthrop's chief reputation in the athletic world was achieved in another sport: boxing.[1] In his Junior year he proved himself to be the college champion in both middleweight and heavyweight sparring.[1] At this point the present writer takes pleasure in quoting Mr. Henry Adams, who was a Freshman when Winthrop was a Senior:

> As a boxer his skill was noteworthy. His hardhitting ability was so unusual that his name became a byword at Harvard for some years after he had left college. To say that he was the best amateur of his time might be a controversial statement; but certain it is that everyone, amateur or professional, who entered into debate with Winthrop in this particular field, knew that he had been in a controversy—some of them only after a return to consciousness.
>
> His modest, unassuming manner was deceptive, and there are many tales of



Frederic Winthrop
1868-1932

occasions when those who attempted to impose on him found that they had picked on the wrong man. For, although Winthrop never sought a battle and was slow to anger, once thoroughly aroused, he was dangerous. On one occasion, a few years after graduation, as he was returning to Boston on the train from the North Shore, he got into an altercation with several men who boarded the train at one of the beaches. Winthrop, on coming back from another car where he had gone to speak to a friend for a moment, came upon these men in the act of removing his bag and appropriating his seat. He politely objected, and, having resumed his seat, ignored their slighting remarks till one of the men, encouraged by his silence, sat down on the arm of his seat and tried to crowd him from his place. This was more than Winthrop could endure, and a fight ensued, in which his opponents were all badly bruised. But Winthrop had shown such self-restraint throughout, that many in the car gave him their cards and offered to appear in his behalf should he happen to need their testimony.[2]

While in college Winthrop lived at 21 Beck Hall, a highly desirable room which his brother Grenville had enjoyed during most of his undergraduate years at Harvard. Inevitably he was wafted into various clubs,—the Institute of 1770, D.K.E., Zeta Psi (Spee), Hasty Pudding and Porcellian.[3]

After spending a year in the Harvard Law School, Fred Winthrop returned to New York City, where he entered the banking house founded by his father,—Robert Winthrop & Company. About this time he dropped his midddle name, Bayard, and became simply Frederic Winthrop. He did this to avoid confusion with his relative Frederic Bronson Winthrop, who simultaneously and by agreement dropped the Frederic from his name and became simply Bronson Winthrop. During the summer of 1892 he did some big-game shooting in the Rockies, and traveled extensively through Canada and the Western States. In the spring and summer of 1894 he visited England, Scotland, France, Belgium, and Holland. Upon returning to New York he was admitted as a partner in the firm of Robert Winthrop & Company (October 1, 1894). That autumn he was ill with typhoid fever. When he had sufficiently recovered, he left New York (February 21, 1895) and sailed from Vancouver for Japan. He was back in New York early in June. He belonged to the Knickerbocker, Metropolitan, and Racquet and Tennis Clubs.[4]

For seven or eight years Frederic Winthrop continued to lead the life of a successful New York banker, but soon after turning thirty he had had enough of it. There were other things he wanted to do. Accordingly, he resigned from the firm of Robert Winthrop & Company on April 1, 1900, and two years later moved to Massachusetts. In 1902 he traveled through "Egypt, Greece, Italy, etc." with his classmate, William Amory, of Boston;

on January 20, 1903, he married Mr. Amory's sister Dorothy. He was thirty-four and she was ten years younger. She was a daughter of Charles Walter and Elizabeth (Gardner) Amory; her father was of the Class of 1863 at Harvard. In the autumn of 1903, Mr. Winthrop bought an estate in Hamilton, Massachusetts (he called it "a farm in Ipswich"), and he and Mrs. Winthrop made their home there. He named it "Groton House," after Groton Manor in England, the ancestral home of the Winthrop family.[5]

It would be interesting to know all the reasons that led Frederic Winthrop, a born New Yorker, to renounce his native city and turn himself into an excellent Bostonian if not a "typical" one. What did he miss in New York that he thought he could find in or near Boston? The present writer's conjecture is that it was the New England atmosphere and the New England attitude toward life. With both of these he must have become acquainted during his five years at Harvard; he liked them, and after his return to Manhattan Island he was a bit homesick for them. Endowed with an ample fortune, he could live wherever he preferred. It was just a question of where he would be happiest. With the whole world spread out before him, he chose Essex County, Massachusetts, with Boston as an adjunct, and it turned out that he chose wisely. Frederic Winthrop's decisions were apt to be like that.

Primarily an out-door man,—sportsman, some would say,—he could not fail to enjoy his acres at Hamilton and the life he led there. The place would charm anyone who loves the New England landscape. But for Mr. Winthrop it had a special appeal, that increased with the years. His ancestor, John Winthrop, Jr., had founded Ipswich (of which Hamilton was formerly a part) more than two hundred and fifty years before. Frederic Winthrop must have known this from boyhood, but the fact took hold of him more and more as he settled into his farm there. Family pride, of which he possessed plenty but did his best to conceal, had something to do with this increasing interest in the early history of Massachusetts. But there was more to it than that. Unlike some gentlemen farmers, he was a reader. If anyone had accused him of being a scholar, he would have laughed outright, for he was not what the world calls "learned"; but he was a reflective reader and a highly intelligent one.

In and around Boston Mr. Winthrop found other gentlemen with his tastes and interests, and before he had spent ten years in that environment he was drawn into the Massachusetts Historical Society. When his name was

mentioned in that connection, Charles Francis Adams, then its president, remarked that although Winthrop was not given to writing, he took so much interest in the activities of the Society and in historical subjects that he considered him a really desirable member.[6] As Mr. Adams himself *was* addicted to writing, and as it was not his custom to distribute bouquets indiscriminately, this was a real tribute to Frederic Winthrop's historical background and to his wish to promote interest in the field of history. He was placed on this committee and on that, and he was a member of the Council in the years 1910–1913, 1926–28, and from 1931 until his death in 1932. His election to the Historical Society in 1908 was followed, in the course of time, by election to the Colonial Society of Massachusetts and the American Antiquarian Society,—both in 1924. He also belonged to the New York Historical Society, the Military Historical Society of Massachusetts, the Bostonian Society, and the Society of Colonial Wars. Among his Massachusetts clubs were the Somerset, Tennis and Racquet, and Myopia Hunt.

Life at Hamilton must have been almost idyllic. Mr. and Mrs. Winthrop were blessed with three children,—two boys and a girl,—life was easy, and the future rosy. It was too good to last. On July 18, 1907, beautiful Mrs. Winthrop was thrown from her horse. "The accident occurred shortly after mounting a new horse she was trying at her own place. As she turned from her driveway into the fields her horse began to buck. Mr. Winthrop, who accompanied her, immediately jumped from his mount and rushed to his wife's assistance, but Mrs. Winthrop was pitched from her saddle face-downward just as he reached her horse's bridle."[7] She suffered serious internal injuries and died on July 23. She was just twenty-nine, and the eldest of her three children was not yet five years old.

One of the factors that made Frederic Winthrop fit so well into his Massachusetts environment was his latent shyness. Rich, fine-looking, and blessed with superb physique, from the point of view of the world he had no reason to be shy. Nevertheless, he was,—and in precisely the same way that many New Englanders are; and like a true New Englander he protected himself from the multitude by an aura of reserve. This did not prevent him from being a very gracious host; that was one of the many things that he did to perfection. But in some circumstances it gave him an air of quiet aloofness, of which he was entirely unconscious and which, to tell the truth, was distinctly becoming. Basically his shyness was probably due to modesty, for he

had more than his share of that quality. Another trait that made him at home in Boston was his horror of ostentatious wealth; he lived well rather than lavishly, and though he surrounded himself with beautiful things, a visitor at his house was conscious of beauty, harmony, and good taste,—not of money. Like the best New Englanders he was both generous and prudent, and many persons were astounded when the size of the fortune he had accumulated was divulged to the public.

On July 12, 1911, Mr. Winthrop married Miss Sarah Barroll Thayer, daughter of Nathaniel Thayer, Harvard '71, of Lancaster, Massachusetts. For two or three years he had made his winter home at 280 Beacon Street, Boston; about 1912 he moved into a spacious mansion at 299 Berkeley Street, at the corner of Marlborough Street. The latter house was admirably arranged for the entertainment of a large company of guests, and both the Colonial Society and the American Antiquarian Society enjoyed Mr. Winthrop's hospitality there,—the Antiquarians at luncheon in April, 1930, when Calvin Coolidge, their president, was present and in excellent form. In addition to Hamilton and Boston, Mr. Winthrop had a large farm in Allendale County, South Carolina; this had been bequeathed to him by his brother Robert Dudley Winthrop, who died in 1912.[8]

In the first World War Frederic Winthrop was a captain in the Red Cross, and went overseas; but the work assigned to him was too far from the front to be especially interesting, and when the term of his enlistment expired he returned to this country. "In April 1918 he was accepted as a volunteer civilian employee in the Ground Schools Branch, Training Section, Aviation Section of the United States Signal Corps, and supervised the instruction of cadet candidates from various colleges. In the following July he was temporarily attached to the Flying Branch, for inspecting ground instruction at flying fields at Pensacola, Fla., San Antonio and Waco, Tex., and Lonoke, Ark., and a month later he was appointed a captain in the Air Service at Washington, D. C. He was discharged from the service 9 December 1918."[9]

When the tercentenary of the coming of Governor Winthrop to Massachusetts Bay was approaching, the governor of the Commonwealth placed Mr. Winthrop on the commission that was to plan and carry out a program of appropriate exercises. Among the striking features of the celebration in 1930 was a pageant reënacting the arrival of the *Arbella* in Salem harbor.

An interesting replica of the historic vessel was built, and in the course of time Mr. Winthrop was persuaded to impersonate Governor Winthrop in the pageant. Proud though he was of his ancestor, he must have dreaded playing the role assigned to him, for he thoroughly disliked being conspicuous,—even in so good a cause.

In 1920 Mr. Winthrop and his brothers Grenville and Beekman gave the Massachusetts Historical Society $10,000, in memory of their father. They named it the "Robert Winthrop Fund," and stipulated that the income should be used "for the publication of papers written by Members of the Winthrop Family, or of papers relating to the Winthrop Family in Massachusetts and in Connecticut, or of research relating to the Winthrop Family in England before and during the Great Puritan Emigration to New England in the Seventeenth Century."[10] Five or six years later his sisters Mrs. Hamilton Fish Kean and Mrs. J. Herman van Roijen contributed $5,000 to the fund, and in his will Mr. Winthrop gave it an additional $25,000. Since 1929 the Society has published five handsome volumes entitled *Winthrop Papers*.

No account of Frederic Winthrop would be complete without special mention of his appearance. The portrait of him painted by Hermann Hanatschek, and reproduced here, recalls his handsome countenance but does not, and could not, show the strength of character that appeared in his face in later years. He lost neither his good looks nor his kindly eye, but gradually there were added to these the lines that indicate what a man is made of and how he has met the various problems that have made his journey through life less easy, if not actually difficult; in his case the lines were exactly what one would wish them to be. The Hanatschek portrait, now owned by his son Robert, suggests Mr. Winthrop's bearing, but, not being full-length, cannot do complete justice to his figure and presence. He must have been well over six feet tall, and he was perfectly proportioned. He was magnificent to look upon, and many who saw him but did not know his name must have wondered who he was. Without the slightest effort on his part he gave the impression of being somebody one *ought* to know, at least by sight.

Frederic Winthrop died at his home on Berkeley Street on May 6, 1932; he was sixty-three years old, and had been ill for several months. Of him his classmate William Amory wrote understandingly and appreciatively: "Frederic Winthrop did not make friends easily, but those who became his friends

could count on his enduring loyalty and devotion. He had high standards and could not tolerate anything small or mean.

"He had a strong personality and his intelligence and sense of humor were among the attractive qualities that made him a most congenial companion. Many will remember him for kind and generous acts that he performed so quietly."[11]

Children, by his first wife:

Robert, born January 21, 1904, A.B., Harvard, 1926, became a banker in New York City (Robert Winthrop & Company), married (1) Theodora Ayer, of Boston, Massachusetts, April 9, 1928, and had issue: Theodora, born July 16, 1929; Elizabeth Amory, born December 14, 1931; Cornelia Beekman, born December 31, 1934. Married (2) Margaret (Stone) Mann, April 25, 1942. Partner, Robert Winthrop & Co.; served as lieutenant commander in the U. S. Naval Reserve in World War II; member, Massachusetts Historical Society.

Dorothy, born May 21, 1905, married Standish Bradford (A.B., Harvard, 1924), August 29, 1931, has issue, and resides in Hamilton, Massachusetts.

Frederic, born June 30, 1906, A.B., Harvard, 1928, married Angela Elizabeth Forbes July 4, 1933, at Tandridge, Surrey, England, and has issue: Iris, born April 18, 1935; Angela, born September 8, 1936; Adam, born September 20, 1938; Frederic, born June 11, 1940. Mrs. Winthrop is a granddaughter of Robert C. Winthrop, Jr. During World War II Mr. Winthrop served in the U. S. Army with the rank of lieutenant colonel. They make their home at "Groton House," Hamilton, Massachusetts.

Children, by his second wife:

Nathaniel Thayer, born May 20, 1912, A.B., Harvard, 1934, married Serita Bartlett, July 3, 1935, at Beverly Farms, Massachusetts, and has issue: John, born June 22, 1936; Matthew Bartlett, born May 8, 1938. Primarily a lawyer, Mr. Winthrop served as lieutenant commander in the U. S. Naval Reserve in World War II.

John, born June 4, 1913, died suddenly March 12, 1915.

Katharine, born July 17, 1914, won renown as a tennis player and became women's national indoor singles champion in 1944. In 1938, 1942, and 1944 she and her partner won the women's national championship in indoor doubles.

References

1. For Winthrop's various athletic achievements, see *Harvard College. Class of 1891. Secretary's Report. No. 1*, 62, 64, 65, 83, 91; *Harvard Portfolio, 1889–90*, facing p. 16.

2. Massachusetts Historical Society *Proceedings*, LXV (1932–36), 362.

3. *Harvard College. Class of 1891. Secretary's Report. No. 1*, 50.

4. *Harvard College. Class of 1891. Secretary's Report, No. 2*, 87–88.
5. *Harvard College, Class of 1891, Secretary's Report, No. IV*, 138.
6. Massachusetts Historical Society *Proceedings*, LXV (1932–36), 366.
7. *Boston Evening Transcript*, July 20, 1907, 1.
8. Massachusetts Historical Society *Proceedings*, LXV (1932–36), 365.
9. *New England Historical and Genealogical Register*, LXXXVI (1932), 444.
10. Massachusetts Historical Society *Proceedings*, LXV. 366; see also LIII. 188.
11. *50th Anniversary Report of the Class of 1891*, 434.

BEEKMAN WINTHROP[9] (*Robert*[8], *Thomas Charles*[7], *Francis Bayard*[6], *John Still*[5], *John*[4], *Wait Still*[3], *John*[2], *John*[1]), the youngest son of Robert and Kate Wilson (Taylor) Winthrop, was born in Orange, New Jersey, on September 18, 1874. He prepared for college at Cutler's School in New York City, where his parents resided, and was admitted to Harvard in 1893 with the Class of 1897.

Throughout his undergraduate years Beekman roomed in Beck Hall, and in spite of his gay environment he distinguished himself as a student. In his Sophomore year he was given a detur—a prize in the form of a book—and in his Senior year one of the newly established John Harvard Scholarships; the latter, without stipend, were awarded to students who had "made excellent attainments in the work of the preceding academic year" and to such only as were "deemed worthy of very high academic distinction."[1] It is not surprising to learn that he was elected a member of Phi Beta Kappa and at Commencement in 1897 received his degree of A.B. *magna cum laude*. On the social side he belonged to the Institute of 1770, of which he was vice president, the Hasty Pudding, Zeta Psi (Spee), and Porcellian Clubs; other organizations of which he was a member were the Memorial Society, the Natural History Club, and the Signet.[2]

Returning to Harvard in the autumn of 1897, "Beek" Winthrop entered the Law School, and continued to live in Beck Hall. He was on the *Harvard Law Review* and was next-to-the-top man in his class when he became an LL.B. *cum laude*, in 1900. Having passed his examinations for the New York Bar, he stepped immediately into the interesting occupation of being private secretary to William Howard Taft, then president of the

Philippine Commission; a year later he was appointed Assistant Executive Secretary for the Philippines, and in 1903–04 he was Judge of the Court of First Instance there. About his Philippine experiences he sometimes talked very entertainingly and always very modestly.

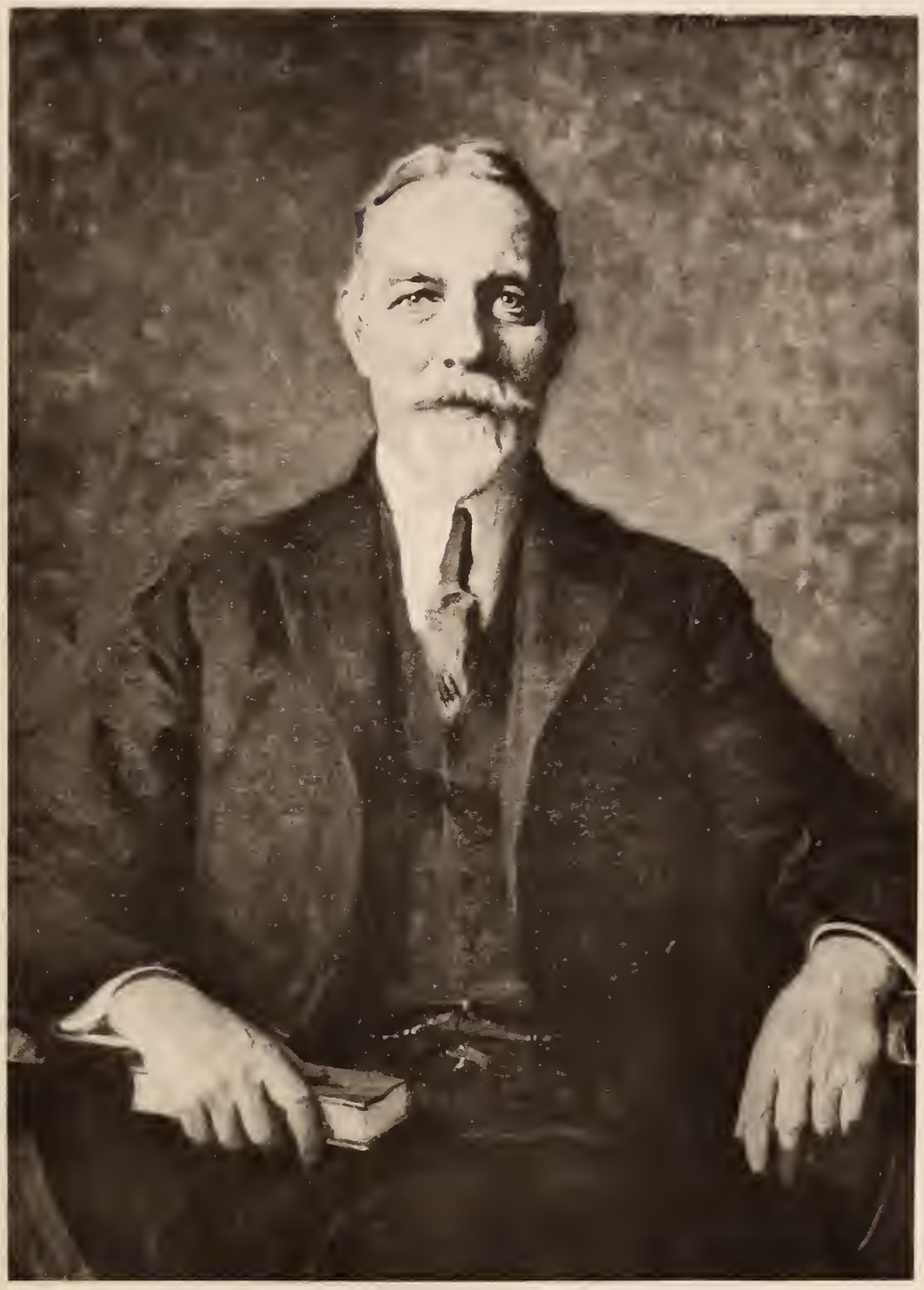
From 1904 until 1907 Winthrop was Governor of Porto Rico; "and would later have been Governor of Cuba had not a political mistake halted him as he was about to leave Puerto Rico for that post." From 1907 until 1909 he was Assistant Secretary of the Treasury and showed distinguished talents in that position. When Mr. Taft became President of the United States, Mr. Winthrop was appointed Assistant Secretary of the Navy, in which office he remained throughout the Taft administration. In March, 1913, when Woodrow Wilson and the Democrats came into power, he resigned the position, and in February, 1914, became a partner in the family's banking house,—Robert Winthrop & Co., at 40 Wall Street, New York.[3] From this point the story of his life is best told by his classmate Joseph Warren:[4]

> Deprived at the age of forty of the profession he had originally chosen, he adapted himself quickly to another of a very different type. Again, so to speak, he began at the top but worked up. He undertook the leadership of the old, established banking firm of Robert Winthrop & Company in New York, and for the next twenty-five years was the valued adviser of banks and railroads, which treated his advice with steadily increasing confidence. He had business acumen and farsightedness, and that rarest of all qualities, wisdom. Will a man always be "decent"? May power be safely put in his hands? Beekman Winthrop qualified under both tests.
>
> There is perhaps nothing radically wrong with the management of the public service in the United States. But it would have been far better for that service if the country had utilized throughout his career the talents of the Governor Winthrop of the twentieth century as it had those of his distinguished ancestor of the seventeenth.

He retired from Robert Winthrop & Company in 1939.

On October 3, 1903, Mr. Winthrop married Miss Melza Riggs Wood, of New York City, daughter of John Dunn and Alice (Riggs) Wood.[5] When he was able to settle down in the vicinity of New York, they made their principal home at Westbury, Long Island. Mrs. Winthrop died in 1928. They had no children. In town the Winthrop residence was at 117 East Sixty-ninth Street.

Beekman Winthrop died at St. Luke's Hospital, New York City, on November 10, 1940. Though he had not been active in business for more than



Beekman Winthrop

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1. *The Harvard University Catalogue, 1896–97*, 619–620.
2. *Harvard University, Class of 1897, Secretary's First Report*, 49, 50, 54, 55.
3. *Harvard College, Class of 1897, Secretary's Fifth Report*, 325; also *Twenty-fifth Anniversary Report*, 615.
4. *Harvard College, Class of Ninety-Seven, Forty-Fifth Anniversary Report*, 67–68.
5. *Harvard College, Class of 1897, Third Report*, 235.
6. *New York Times*, November 11, 1940.
7. Massachusetts Historical Society *Proceedings*, LIII. 188.
8. *Harvard College, Class of Ninety-Seven, Forty-Fifth Anniversary Report*, 67.

GRENVILLE BAYARD[9] WINTHROP (*Grenville*[8], *Thomas Charles*[7], *Francis Bayard*[6], *John Still*[5], *John*[4], *Wait Still*[3], *John*[2], *John*[1]), the only son of Grenville and Elizabeth Van Schaick (Oddie) Winthrop, was born at Pau, France, on October 3, 1868. His parents were sojourning on the Continent, and his father, a New York broker, died at Pau about five months later. His mother returned to New York about 1875 and Grenville prepared for college at Duane S. Everson's School in that city. Entering Harvard in 1887, he moved rather quietly through four studious years in Cambridge, graduated *cum laude* with the Class of 1891, and received "honorable mention" in French and in Political Economy.[1] He belonged to the Pierian Sodality, the Institute of 1770, D.K.E., Delta Phi, and the Hasty Pudding Club; all four years he roomed at 10 Plympton Street. In 1888 he rowed on the Freshman crew, and on his Class crew in his Sophomore year.[2]

After college Grenville Winthrop studied at the Columbia Law School, became an A.M. in 1892, and received the degree of LL.B. in 1894. He then began to practise law; while a bachelor he lived at 170 West Fifty-ninth Street. "After his admission to the bar he was for some years in the office of Carter, Hughes & Dwight. Thereafter he specialized in real estate law and surrogate's practice. He had a large foreign clientage. Deafness in his early years compelled him to abandon trial work."[3] He was a member of the New York Athletic Club and of the Association of the Bar of the City of New York. On October 19, 1897, he married Arazelia Van Zandt Potter,

at Newport, Rhode Island. She was the daughter of Charles Potter. Mr. and Mrs. Winthrop's first home was at 16 Central Park West.[4]

Mr. Winthrop died suddenly, on July 31, 1933, in his sixty-fifth year.[5] In 1944 Mrs. Winthrop was living at "Peacedale Farm," South Salem, Westchester County, New York.

A photograph of Grenville Bayard Winthrop, taken when he was a Senior in Harvard College, is reproduced in *Harvard College, Class of 1891, Twenty-fifth Anniversary Report*, facing p. 324. The original is preserved in the Harvard '91 Album in the Harvard University Archives.

Children:

Arazelia Van Zandt, born September 1, 1898, died July 19, 1899.

Grenville Bayard, born May 18, 1900, attended St. Paul's School, Concord, New Hampshire, 1914–18, married June 15, 1928, Brenda Lihme, and has issue. In 1945 he was connected with the National City Bank in New York City.

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1. *The Harvard University Catalogue, 1891–92*, 444.
2. *Harvard College. Class of 1891. Secretary's Report, No. 1*, 51, 54, 55, 64.
3. *Association of the Bar of the City of New York, Year Book, 1934*, 406.
4. *Harvard College, Class of 1891, Secretary's Report, No. 3*, 102, 137.
5. *New York Times*, August 2, 1933.

ROBERT MASON[9] WINTHROP (*Robert Charles*[8], *Robert Charles*[7], *Thomas Lindall*[6], *John Still*[5], *John*[4], *Wait Still*[3], *John*[2], *John*[1]), the son of Robert Charles and Elizabeth (Mason) Winthrop, was born in Boston, Massachusetts, on March 7, 1873. Although his first name might have come from the Winthrop side, it is fairly safe to assume that the boy was named for his maternal grandfather, Robert M. Mason, a highly successful merchant of Boston. Robert ("Bertie") attended Groton School and entered Harvard College as a Freshman in the autumn of 1891. During that first year he lived in Holyoke House on Massachusetts Avenue, but for his Sophomore year he moved to 9 Bow Street where he continued to room during the remainder of his undergraduate days. Socially he may not have been entirely happy at Harvard, but he belonged to the Institute of 1770, the Groton

Club, St. Paul's Society, and the Cercle Français.[1] He graduated in 1895, receiving the degree of Bachelor of Arts.

In the fall of 1896 Winthrop returned to Harvard to study law, but a year of this seems either to have sufficed for his needs or to have convinced him that another profession would be more to his liking. About five years later, in the spring of 1902, he entered the diplomatic service. For fifteen months he was First Secretary of the Legation at Brussels; then, in the autumn of 1903, he was transferred to Madrid, where he held the corresponding position. Later on he was Second Secretary of Embassy in Rome, and Secretary of Legation in Athens. In 1910 he resigned from the service and became once more a private citizen residing in the paternal mansion at 10 Walnut Street, Boston, and spending more or less time at the Somerset Club or at the Tennis and Racquet Club. But the city he cared for most was Paris, France, where he belonged to the Travellers Club, La Boulie, and the St. Cloud Country Club. It was not long before he left America and made his home in France.[2]

Mr. Winthrop died at Nice, France, on May 6, 1938. The funeral services were held at St. Germain, near Paris, on May 11.[3] He was sixty-five years old and unmarried.

References

1. *Harvard College, Class of 1895, Secretary's Report, No. 1*, 71, 76, 77, 82.
2. *Harvard College, Class of 1895, Third Report*, 153; *Fourth Report*, 217; *Fifth Report*, 360.
3. *Boston Evening Transcript*, May 7, 1938.

EGERTON LEIGH[9] WINTHROP (*Egerton Leigh*[8], *Benjamin Robert*[7], *Benjamin*[6], *John Still*[5], *John*[4], *Wait Still*[3], *John*[2], *John*[1]), the elder son of Egerton Leigh and Charlotte Troup (Bronson) Winthrop, was born in Paris, France, on August 14, 1862. His parents lived abroad until about 1870, when they returned to New York and made their home at 180 Fifth Avenue. After Mrs. Winthrop's death in 1872, Egerton's father went back to Paris, and Egerton himself to Eton College, England, where he is said to have "rowed and won the Single Sculls."

Entering Harvard in the autumn of 1881, Egerton tried for the Freshman crew, but was found to be too light. His interest then centered on polo. In 1883 he assisted in organizing the Harvard Polo Club, and one imagines that when "Egg" Winthrop drove out in his dog-cart to the polo field at Watertown, more than one person turned to gaze after him.[1] In 1885 he played on the Harvard team that won the championship at Newport, defeating the more experienced Westchester and Meadow Brook teams.[2] While in college he was elected into the Institute of 1770 (in the First Ten), the Hasty Pudding, the Porcellian, and the Art Club.[3] Upon graduation from Harvard in 1885, he entered the Columbia Law School and received the degree of LL.B. two years later.

Having gone into Wall Street as a clerk in the well-known law office of Jay & Candler, Winthrop became one of the junior members of that firm on August 1, 1894; ten or twelve years later (1906) he joined the firm of Winthrop & Stimson, of which his brother, Bronson Winthrop, was already a member. In 1905 Mayor McClellan, his wife's brother-in-law, appointed him a school commissioner, and in the following year he was elected president of the Board of Education of the City of New York. To the latter office he was regularly re-elected until 1913.[4] "With great tact, courtesy, and firmness," wrote Mayor McClellan in later years, "he banished politics from the Department of Education, put the city superintendent in his place, handled his board so that he really got efficient work from its members, healed the factional differences among the teachers and won their loyal and enthusiastic support by making the merit system an actuality."[5] He was president of the Board for a longer time than any predecessor had ever held that office, and he remained on the Board until December, 1917.

Other public activities of Egerton Winthrop included the Legal Aid Society, of which he was president from 1921 until his death in 1926, the Association of the Bar of the City of New York, the New York Law Institute, of which he was treasurer for about twenty-five years, and the Public Schools Athletic League, of which he was a vice president and a director; he was also a member of the Board of Governors of the National Democratic Club.

Mr. Winthrop was a vestryman of Trinity Church, New York, from 1908 until 1926, and a trustee of the House of Mercy. For many years he was president of the Meadow Brook Club, treasurer and a governor of the

Knickerbocker Club, and a member of the St. Nicholas Society, the Union Club, the Down Town Association, the Turf and Field Club, and Piping Rock Club. His country home was at Syosset, Long Island; and except when he went abroad, he occupied the Winthrop cottage at Newport during a part of each summer. He also had a house in the city, at 114 East Thirty-ninth Street and later at 109 East Ninety-first Street.

On July 8, 1890, Egerton Winthrop married Emmeline Dore Heckscher, daughter of John G. Heckscher, of New York. He died at his residence in New York City on January 12, 1926, after an illness of about three months; he was sixty-three years old. The funeral services were held on January 14 at Trinity Church, Broadway and Wall Street, and burial was in the churchyard of St. Mark's-in-the-Bouwerie.

A memorial prepared by the Bar Association tells us: "During his nearly forty years of active practice at the bar of the State of New York Egerton Leigh Winthrop, Jr., maintained the highest standards of professional ethics and enjoyed the greatest respect and esteem of his associates at the bar. He was often appointed a referee, largely in matters connected with the Surrogate's Court, and the members of the bar who appeared before him were always impressed with his courteous treatment and the fairness and justness of his decisions. The confidence and trust reposed in him by his clients is well illustrated by the fact that he was many times selected to act as executor and trustee. An able lawyer, a man of sound judgment, whose advice could always be relied upon, he was typical of the best type of the legal profession. His kindness and his geniality of character impressed themselves strongly on those with whom he came in contact and his death has been a great loss to the profession and a great sorrow to his many friends and associates."[6]

Amos Tuck French, who had known him from college days, and perhaps longer than that, wrote: "To a gruff exterior and rather short manner were united in our classmate, Egerton Winthrop, a sweet nature and great consideration for others. His infinite care in protecting the interest of the most modest estates and unimportant clients was the same as his attention to the large affairs that he handled. He was one of the most conscientious men imaginable, and one of the kindest. He led a blameless life and was entirely unselfish. His position in the community was due not to push but to probity. When he arose to speak, one was impressed at once by his honesty, his sincerity. He was bold in stating his opinions, and these opinions always showed

common sense and carried conviction. His friends and clients naturally turned to him for advice, not only in legal matters, but in the many questions confusing daily life and policy. One felt that he was a sheet anchor in times of storm, and a quiet genial companion in hours of ease. He will be missed by many people, for different reasons, for many a year. His niche will remain empty, but his personality will endure. There was nobody exactly like him, and his quality is hard to define. Few men are held in real affection by their associates, and most pass away and are soon forgotten. Egerton Winthrop will live in the hearts of his friends until we all cross over."[7]

Two photographs of Mr. Winthrop—one taken in 1885, and the other about 1910—are reproduced in the *Class of 1885, Harvard College, Secretary's Report No. VII*, facing p. 170.

Child:

Muriel Egerton, born December 15, 1894, married (1) Richard de Blois Boardman, January 8, 1921; (2) Harold Aymar Sands, November 25, 1925, and had issue; she resides at Newport, Rhode Island.

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1. Amos Tuck French, *Harvard Polo Club, 1883–1885*, 11.
2. *Class of 1885, Harvard College, Secretary's Report, No. VII*, 171.
3. *Harvard College. Class of 1885. Secretary's Report. No. I*, 32, 34, 35, 36; also *No. IX*, 197.
4. *Class of 1885, Harvard College, Secretary's Report, Number IX*, 197.
5. *New York Times*, January 15, 1926.
6. *Association of the Bar of the City of New York, Year Book, 1926*, 487.
7. *Class of 1885, Harvard College, Secretary's Report, Number IX*, 196–197.

FREDERIC] BRONSON[9] WINTHROP (*Egerton Leigh*[8], *Benjamin Robert*[7], *Benjamin*[6], *John Still*[5], *John*[4], *Wait Still*[3], *John*[2], *John*[1]), the younger son of Egerton Leigh and Charlotte Troup (Bronson) Winthrop, was born in Paris, France, on December 22, 1863. He was named for his mother's father, Frederick Bronson, a prominent New York lawyer, and he was addressed as Bronson. During the American Civil War and for a few years thereafter Mr. and Mrs. Winthrop lived in Europe, returning to New York about 1870. In 1872 Mrs. Winthrop died, and before long Mr. Winthrop

went back to Paris. Thus Bronson's childhood was spent for the most part in Europe. Both he and his brother, Egerton, were sent to school at Eton as early as 1876, where Bronson distinguished himself in various fields. In 1880 he won the Prince Consort's Second French Prize, and in 1881 the First French Prize; in 1882 he was captain of the Oppidans in their annual contest with the Collegers at a peculiar form of football known as the wall game; and in his final year, 1882–83, he was a Newcastle Scholar and an editor of the Eton College *Chronicle*.[1]

From Eton, Bronson went on to Trinity College, Cambridge. He matriculated in 1883, was appointed a Scholar in 1884, and received the degree of Bachelor of Arts in 1886 with high honors (First Class of the Classical Tripos, Part I, Division 3).[2] Cambridge was the University and Trinity the College of his Winthrop ancestors. Here Adam Winthrop had served as Auditor from 1592 to 1609, and here Adam's son, John Winthrop, the future founder of the Colony of Massachusetts-Bay, had matriculated in 1603.[3] Bronson was not the first American Winthrop to become an alumnus of Cambridge, that distinction having already gone to his cousin Neilson Winthrop, B.A., 1871; but he was the first to attend Trinity College and the first to take his degree with First Class Honors. About ten years later (1895) he revisited Cambridge, paid the customary fee, and became a Master of Arts.

Soon after graduating from Cambridge, Winthrop came over to New York, where he and his father and his brother made a home for themselves at 23 East Thirty-third Street. He entered the Columbia Law School and received the degree of LL.B. in 1891. Then came his beginning as a lawyer at 32 Nassau Street, New York City, which was followed by successive membership in the firms of Root, Howard, Winthrop & Stimson, Winthrop & Stimson, and Winthrop, Stimson, Putnam & Roberts. His partner, Henry Lewis Stimson, became Secretary of War in President Taft's Cabinet, Secretary of State in that of President Hoover, and Secretary of War under Franklin Delano Roosevelt.

Soon after his return to this country Frederic Bronson Winthrop became increasingly conscious of the fact that he was not the only Frederic B. Winthrop in New York. Among the relatives was a third cousin named Frederic Bayard Winthrop, then a student at Harvard. In 1891 Frederic Bayard graduated from college and returned to his native New York City, pre-

sumably to spend the rest of his life there. This made the Frederic B. Winthrop situation acute, and in order to correct it the cousins made (about 1893) the following gentlemen's agreement: Paris-born F. B. Winthrop would drop his first name completely and become simply Bronson Winthrop; New York-born F. B. Winthrop would drop his middle name and become simply Frederic Winthrop. It was a wise arrangement and it seems to have solved the problem very satisfactorily.

In his profession Bronson Winthrop made an enviable record, and he became a director in the following organizations: Valley Land Company, Henry A. Cram Corporation, Lawyers Mortgage Company, Hamilton National Bank of New York, Hamilton Safe Deposit Company, New York Hamilton Corporation, International Acceptance Bank, Fiduciary Trust Company, and Bank of Manhattan Company. He was also a trustee of the American Surety Company and the Union Square Savings Bank. His clubs included the Knickerbocker, Union, Century, Down Town, University, Grolier, Meadow Brook Golf, and Piping Rock. He was intelligently interested in New York charities. In 1910 he became a member of the Charity Organization Society's Committee on Criminal Courts and was made chairman thereof in 1935. "The Committee, through cooperation with a group of City Magistrates, was successful in drafting and securing legislation for setting up a new specialized Family Court, separate from the criminal court system." In 1934 he was elected vice president of the Charity Organization Society and served until 1939, when it was amalgamated into the Community Service Society; of the latter he became honorary vice president. In politics he was a Republican, and his religious affiliations were Episcopalian. According to the *New York Times*, "during the Spanish-American War, Mr. Winthrop served as captain of infantry."[4]

Bachelor though he was, Mr. Winthrop maintained a residence in the city at 39 East Seventy-second Street, and a country place at Syosset, Long Island. He was at Syosset when he died, on July 14, 1944, in his eighty-first year. The funeral services were held on the morning of July 18 at St. Mark's Church-in-the-Bouwerie, Tenth Street at Second Avenue, New York City.

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3. *Admissions to Trinity College, Cambridge* (edited by W. W. Rouse Ball and J. A. Venn), II. 221.
4. *Who's Who in America*; *New York Times*, July 15, 1944.

BERTRAM[9] WINTHROP (*William Neilson*[8], *Benjamin Robert*[7], *Benjamin*[6], *John Still*[5], *John*[4], *Wait Still*[3], *John*[2], *John*[1]), a son of Neilson and Louise (Van Zandt) Winthrop, was born in Pau, France, on October 18, 1884.[1] As a schoolboy he attended the Lycée Condorcet in Paris, and he proceeded thence to the Sorbonne. After receiving the degree of Bachelier-ès-Lettres in 1902, he studied law at the University of Paris until 1908, in which year he became Licencié-en-Droit. From 1908 until 1911 he was a student at the Harvard Law School,—not aiming at a degree, but rounding out his training for his chosen profession.

After a few years in London, he took up the practice of law in Paris where he was active and successful up to the time of his last illness. "In the course of this business he had close relations with many New York law firms. He was a member of the Association of the Bar of the City of New York, returned to the United States from time to time, and was admitted to practice in the Supreme Court of the United States." Though he spent most of his life in France, he was careful to retain his American citizenship.[2]

During the first World War, Mr. Winthrop "served with the American Relief Clearing House until the United States entered the War in 1917, when he was commissioned captain in the United States Air Service and served as a special attaché at the American Embassy in Paris and as a liaison officer with the French Army; and he was a Chevalier of the Legion of Honor." When the Germans invaded France in the second World War he was in Paris,—and ill. Just before the Germans entered Paris he was moved to Biarritz, and at Biarritz he died on November 1, 1940.[3]

In 1927 Bertram Winthrop married a second cousin, Mrs. Georgette Folsom FitzGibbon, daughter of Mr. and Mrs. George Winthrop Folsom of Lenox, Massachusetts; she was the former wife of Commander Francis Dillon FitzGibbon of the British Navy. This marriage ended in divorce in Paris in 1931. In 1932 he married Mrs. Fanny Bayly Hart of Como, Italy, and

Paris, the widow of Harry Maybin Hart of Philadelphia; the wedding took place in the American Church in Paris. In 1944 Mrs. Winthrop was living in New York City. He had no children by either marriage.

Mr. Winthrop belonged to the Union, Knickerbocker, and Harvard Clubs, of New York, the Somerset and Tennis and Racquet Clubs, of Boston, Boodle's Club, London, the Travellers' Club, the Union Interalliée, and the St. Cloud Golf Club, Paris. He was "a lawyer of resource and ability, and a delightful gentleman, with many devoted friends on both sides of the ocean."[4]

References

1. Bertram Winthrop's birthplace is often given as Paris; but in the "List of Entries" (MS.) among the records of the Harvard Law School, we find it "Pau,"—in his own handwriting.
2. Langdon P. Marvin, in the *Association of the Bar of the City of New York, Year Book, 1941*, 528.
3. *New York Times*, November 11, 1940.
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CHAPTER X

Some Unidentified Winthrops

AS Robert C. Winthrop, Jr., remarked in a sort of postscript to his *Short Account of the Winthrop Family*: "In modern times the surname [Winthrop] has not infrequently been a favorite one with impostors and begging-letter writers. It has also been fancifully assumed by persons who preferred it to their own; and investigation has established at least one instance where it has been borne in good faith by several generations whose original claim to it might have been contested. With all such this narrative has no concern." Nevertheless, the present writer must confess that certain American Winthrops who do not appear to be descended from Governor John Winthrop of Massachusetts-Bay arrested his attention as he came upon their names while preparing this history of the Family. As they do not appear to have been impostors or beggars, it may not be out of place to mention some of them here. It is quite conceivable that they belonged to the Winthrops of Ireland and that either they or their ancestors migrated to America as *bona fide* Winthrops in some year subsequent to 1630.

The earliest of these is one Peter Winthrop who was in the New York City militia in April, 1775.[1] Was he a real Winthrop? Or was he an Americanized Weintraub? As Manhattan Island attracted many nationalities even in the colonial period, and as the name Peter was not a Winthrop praenomen prior to the marriage of Benjamin Winthrop and a descendant of Peter Stuyvesant, about 1785, the chances are that this Peter Winthrop was a foreigner who preferred an English family name to his own, and took it.

During the American Civil War there was a Captain S. Winthrop who fought on the Confederate side, and fought hard. In the summer of 1863 he was "a volunteer aide of Lieutenant General Longstreet," and according to Major General J. E. B. Stuart he "bore himself most gallantly" in a minor engagement in the Gettysburg campaign. A few months later he distinguished himself near Knoxville, Tennessee. According to General Longstreet: "Part of the troops moved up handsomely and got partial possession; others faltered and sought shelter under a rise of the ground, when Captain Winthrop, of Colonel Alexander's staff, appreciating the danger of delay at such a moment, mounted his horse and dashing up to the front of our line

led our troops over the work. He had the misfortune to receive a severe wound in this affair." Farther on in his report he commented, "The gallantry of this officer on the occasion referred to was most conspicuous, and had the happiest effect in leading the troops over the enemy's cover, at which they had faltered." Colonel Alexander, Winthrop's chief, refers to him as "my adjutant (Capt. S. Winthrop, assistant adjutant-general)" and states that he "was severely wounded, leading on horseback the charge of our infantry within a few feet of the enemy's breastworks."[2]

All this sounds so much like the conduct of Theodore Winthrop, who fought on the Union side, that one cannot help seeing a sort of family resemblance and wondering where "Captain S. Winthrop" belongs on the family tree. What does the initial S stand for? Both Samuel and Stephen were standard Winthrop names in earlier times, and there are indications that this Confederate Winthrop was a Samuel.[3] But who was he? Was he a member of the Charleston, South Carolina, branch, whose existence somehow escaped the notice of the genealogists? Whoever he may have been, he was still in the fighting as late as July, 1864; he was then with the Army of Northern Virginia, and on at least one occasion he and two companions "worked the guns again under a concentrated fire until another officer of the battery arrived from the rear and continued its service with cannoneers obtained from other guns."[4]

And finally, what of Thomas Fergus Winthrop, of Andover, Massachusetts, and his brother Alexander M. Winthrop, of Ballardvale (a part of Andover), both of whom fought on the Northern side in the Civil War? Were they kinsmen of the Family, descended perhaps from some Old-World cousin of the first governor of the Colony of Massachusetts-Bay? Thomas Fergus was born in Andover on May 1, 1842, a son of Thomas and Ellen M. Winthrop, and was baptized there six months later. His father was a cordwainer,—in other words, a shoemaker. Thomas F. enlisted when he was nineteen years old and was mustered into the Service as a private in the summer of 1861; he came out a captain in the spring of 1865.[5] His brother Alexander was born in Andover on December 9, 1844, and enlisted in the summer of 1862. At that time he was only seventeen,—but he may have kept that dark; some of the military records give his age as twenty-one, and state that he was a shoemaker by trade. Alexander had bad luck on the field of battle: he had been in the Army only about four months when he was

wounded at Fredericksburg, Virginia. His injuries must have been fairly severe, for he was discharged for wounds in April, 1863. But apparently he had not had enough of Johnny Reb; in October, 1863, he re-enlisted and was mustered in as a private in Company C, Fourth Regiment, New Hampshire Infantry. On January 16, 1865, he was wounded again, this time by an explosion of the magazine at Fort Fisher, North Carolina, a Confederate stronghold that had been stormed and taken by the Union forces on the preceding day; about five months later he was discharged at Fort Schuyler, in New York Harbor.[6]

References

1. New York Historical Society *Collections for the Year 1915*, 499, 504. There was also a William Winthrop, who was an enlisted man in the Second New York Line; this regiment was "in the United States service under General Washington." James A. Roberts, *New York in the Revolution as Colony and State*, 23.
2. *The War of the Rebellion: A Compilation of the Official Records of the Union and Confederate Armies*, First Series, XXVII, Part II, 702; XXXI, Part I, 458–459, 465, 479.
3. *Ibid.*, First Series, XL, Part I, Index.
4. *Ibid.*, First Series, XL, Part I, 760.
5. *Vital Records of Andover, Massachusetts*, I. 382; *The Record of Andover during the Rebellion* (compiled by Samuel Raymond), 193; *Massachusetts Soldiers, Sailors, and Marines in the Civil War*, II. 421; V. 176.
6. *Vital Records of Andover, Massachusetts*, I. 382; *Massachusetts Soldiers, Sailors, and Marines in the Civil War*, II. 576; VI. 610.

Chart Showing the Major Branches of the Winthrop Family in America

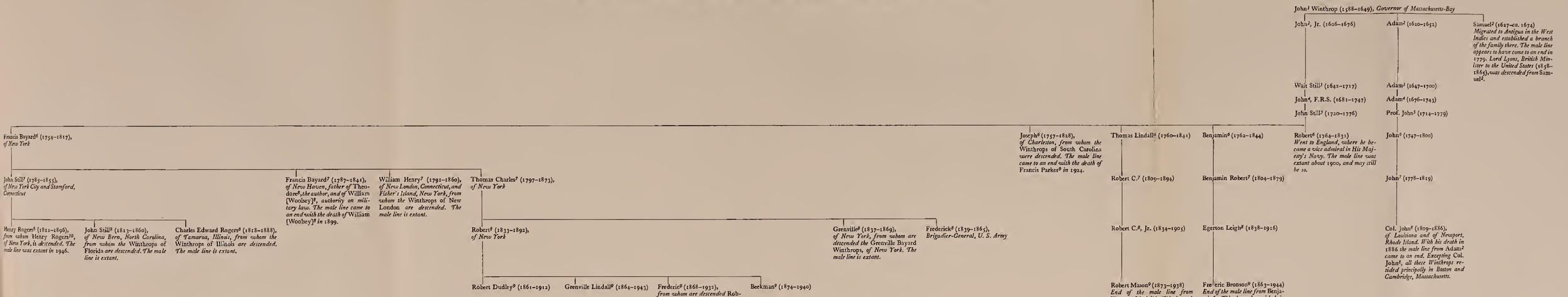

Chart Showing the Major Branches of the

Francis Bayard[6] (1754–1817),
of New York

John Still[7] (1785–1855),
of New York City and Stamford, Connecticut

Henry Rogers[8] (1811–1896),
from whom Henry Rogers[10], *of New York, is descended. The male line was extant in* 1946.

John Still[8] (1813–1860),
of New Bern, North Carolina, from whom the Winthrops of Florida *are descended. The male line is extant.*

Charles Edward Rogers[8] (1818–1888),
of Tamaroa, Illinois, from whom the Winthrops of Illinois *are descended. The male line is extant.*

Francis Bayard[7] (1787–1841),
of New Haven, father of Theodore[8], *the author, and of* William [Woolsey][8], *authority on military law. The male line came to an end with the death of* William [Woolsey][8] *in* 1899.

William Henry[7] (1791–1860),
of New London, Connecticut, and Fisher's Island, New York, from whom the Winthrops of New London *are descended. The male line is extant.*

Thomas Charles[7] (1797–1873),
of New York

Robert[8] (1833–1892),
of New York

Robert Dudley[9] (1861–1912)

Grenville Lindall[9] (1864–1943)

Frederic[9] (1868–1932),
from whom are descended Robert[10], Frederic[10], *and* Nathaniel Thayer[10]. *The male line is extant.*

Beekman[9] (1874–1940)

the Winthrop Family in America

John[1] Winthrop (1588–1649), *Governor of Massachusetts-Bay*

John[2], Jr. (1606–1676)

Wait Still[3] (1642–1717)

John[4], F.R.S. (1681–1747)

John Still[5] (1720–1776)

Robert[6] (1764–1832)
Went to England, where he became a vice admiral in His Majesty's Navy. The male line was extant about 1900, *and may still be so.*

Adam[2] (1620–1652)

Adam[3] (1647–1700)

Adam[4] (1676–1743)

Prof. John[5] (1714–1779)

John[6] (1747–1800)

John[7] (1778–1819)

Col. John[8] (1809–1886),
of Louisiana and of Newport, Rhode Island. With his death in 1886 *the male line from* Adam[2] *came to an end. Excepting* Col. John[8], *all these Winthrops resided principally in Boston and Cambridge, Massachusetts.*

Samuel[2] (1627–*ca.* 1674)
Migrated to Antigua in the West Indies and established a branch of the family there. The male line appears to have come to an end in 1779. *Lord Lyons, British Minister to the United States* (1858–1865), *was descended from* Samuel[2].

Joseph[6] (1757–1828),
of Charleston, from whom the Winthrops of South Carolina *were descended. The male line came to an end with the death of* Francis Parker[9] *in* 1924.

Thomas Lindall[6] (1760–1841)

Robert C.[7] (1809–1894)

Robert C.[8], Jr. (1834–1905)

Robert Mason[9] (1873–1938)
End of the male line from Thomas Lindall[6]. *This branch returned to Boston with* Thomas Lindall[6] *about* 1785.

Benjamin[6] (1762–1844)

Benjamin Robert[7] (1804–1879)

Egerton Leigh[8] (1838–1916)

Frederic Bronson[9] (1863–1944)
End of the male line from Benjamin[6]. *This branch resided in New York and Paris.*

Grenville[8] (1837–1869),
of New York, from whom are descended the Grenville Bayard Winthrops, *of New York. The male line is extant.*

Frederick[8] (1839–1865),
Brigadier-General, U. S. Army

940)

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